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REPORT

Great Britain the
Commons House of
OF THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TO WHOM

The several Papers, referred to in His MAJESTY'S Message of the 22d of January 1799, and which were presented (sealed up) to the House by Mr. Secretary DUNDAS, upon the 23d Day of the said Month, by His MAJESTY'S Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them, to the House.

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED 15th MARCH 1799.

LONDON:

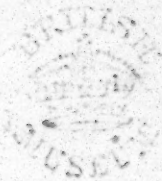
PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, NO. 169, AND J. DEBRETT, NO. 179,
PICCADILLY.

1799.

H. T. O. R. T.

COMMITTEE OF SELECT

HOUSE OF COMMONS



Presented to the House of Commons
by the Committee of Select
on the 14th of June 1841
by the Hon. Wm. Lubbock

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R E P O R T.

THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY, to whom the several Papers which were presented (sealed up) to the House by Mr. Secretary DUNDAS upon the 23d Day of January 1799, by His Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them, to the House;

HAVE proceeded, in obedience to the orders of the House, to the consideration of the matters referred to them. They have been prevented from sooner laying before the House the result of their examination, not only from the extent of the matters which came before them; but because some of the recent circumstances which they have to state, could not, with propriety, have been disclosed at an earlier period.

In the whole course of their inquiry, your Committee have found the clearest proofs of a systematic design, long since adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, and pursued up to the present moment with unabated perseverance, to overturn the laws, constitution, and government, and every existing establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, both in Great Britain and Ireland; as well as to dissolve the connexion between the two kingdoms, so necessary to the security and prosperity of both.

The chief hope of accomplishing this design has rested on the propagation of those destructive principles which originally produced the French revolution, with all the miseries and calamities since experienced in France, and now extended over a large part of Europe.

The most effectual engine employed for this purpose, has been the institution of political societies, of a nature and description before unknown in any country, and inconsistent with public tranquillity, and with the existence of regular government. The effects of this fatal cause, operating in its fullest extent, have been

unhappily felt and exemplified in the distractions and calamities of Ireland. The same cause is known to have prepared the way for all the different revolutions by which France has succeeded in subverting so many of the governments of Europe, and reducing so many independent states to vassalage and subjection. In this country, similar measures have been attempted; and although they have been hitherto defeated, by the precautions of the Legislature, by the vigilance of his Majesty's Government, and still more by the general good sense and loyalty of the nation, the object is not abandoned. The utmost diligence is still employed in endeavouring, not only to sustain and revive those societies whose seditious and treasonable purposes long since attracted the notice of Parliament, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to those places on the continent where French emissaries are established; and to institute new societies, formed precisely on the same plan, and directed by the same object, as those whose influence in Ireland has produced such pernicious and formidable effects; and of which, the consequences might have proved fatal to that kingdom, if they had not been averted, in a season of the greatest difficulty, by the wisdom, firmness, and exertion of his Majesty's Government, and the Parliament of Ireland. The extent and uniformity of this systematic conspiracy are equally striking. The formation and structure of all these societies, in this country, in Ireland, and on the continent, are similar; their views and principles are the same, as well as the means which they employ to extend their influence. A continued intercourse and concert has been maintained from their first origin to the present moment; sometimes between the societies themselves, sometimes between their leading members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the Government of France; to which they appear to look as their protector and ally, and which has repeatedly furnished an asylum to those, who, on account of their principal share in these criminal transactions, have become fugitives or outlaws from the British dominions.

In stating the grounds of this opinion, although your Committee will have much and important new matter to lay before the House; yet they will also be obliged to recall to the recollection of the House, many particulars which have already been brought under the consideration of Parliament, but on which new lights have been thrown by the events which have since occurred, and by the subsequent intelligence which has been received. The information which has been produced to your Committee, on the whole of this subject has been most ample and extensive. The indispensable necessity of secrecy, with respect to the sources of many parts of that intelligence, must be felt by the House, as resulting from considerations of good faith as well as public safety. They

are convinced, that the early and uniform defeat of all attempts to disturb the public tranquillity of this kingdom, is, in a very great degree, to be ascribed to the meritorious and laudable diligence of the persons filling those departments of his Majesty's Government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged. They appear, during a long period of time, to have obtained early and accurate information of the chief designs and measures of the conspirators; and the striking manner in which the most important particulars of the secret intelligence thus procured, have, in a great variety of instances, been completely confirmed, by events now notorious to the world, and by the confession of parties concerned, entitles, in the opinion of your Committee, the whole of the information derived from the same sources, to the fullest credit.

§ I.

View of the Nature and System of the Society of United Irishmen, as fully established in Ireland.

YOUR Committee are induced, in the first instance, to state the nature, extent, and influence, of the Society of United Irishmen; because this Society has proved the most powerful engine, in the hands of the conspirators, against the Government of their country, which has ever yet been devised; and because its proceedings place, in the clearest view, the real object of all societies of this description, either in Ireland or Great Britain; the peculiar means by which they act; and the extreme danger which such societies must produce, whenever they are fully established. It is this which has given exertion, consistency, solidity, and force to the Irish rebellion; which has enabled the conspirators to form themselves, under the eye and in defiance of Government, into one body, compacted by one bond of union; under an oath of fidelity and secrecy; engaging themselves, in the first instance, to misprision of treason, and, successively, to the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes. This Society, thus united and combined, extended itself, by its subdivisions, through every part of the kingdom; and was enabled to involve in one general confederacy, a very numerous description of individuals of almost every class, connected with each other by a pledge of secrecy, by consciousness of guilt, and by the sense of personal danger, either from the violated laws of their country, or from the resentment and power of their associates. These bonds of union were strengthened by the use of secret signs, frequently changed, and applied to different ranks in the conspiracy, for the purpose of preventing discovery.

The system, thus established, gradually acquired the means of disturbing the tranquillity of the country in all its parts; of impeding the execution of justice, by forcible resistance to the au-

thority of the laws; by the protection of accused persons; by the rescue of prisoners, the seizure of arms, and, at length, by the assassination of informers, of witnesses, of magistrates, and of jurymen; till, by the general terror which was diffused, the loyal inhabitants in different counties were successively driven into the towns, or compelled wholly to quit the kingdom. At the head of this extensive conspiracy was placed a committee, terming itself 'an Executive Directory,' extending its influence and power over the disaffected through every part of the kingdom by 'Provincial and Baronial Committees;' through whom, and by the mission of itinerant delegates over the country, an universal correspondence was established between this executive directory and all the subordinate powers and members of this system. An intercourse was maintained, in the name of the whole, with individuals and societies in this country, as well as with the governments of his Majesty's enemies; and the conspirators were thus enabled to conceal or display their numbers at will, and consequently to magnify their power, or to hide their weakness; to circulate, with rapidity and effect, the most atrocious calumnies against his Majesty's person and government, and against all descriptions and bodies of men whom they thought it their interest to vilify; to raise contributions, extorted frequently even from those who had not become members of their Union; to procure, disperse, and conceal arms, ammunition, and artillery; to collect military information; and, finally, to raise an army formed of all those among them capable of bearing arms, and placed under the command of officers, in military divisions, corresponding with those established for the general purposes of the conspiracy.

* It is material to state, in detail, the formation of the different branches of this system, in order to compare it with the institutions of a similar nature, which have been since formed in Great Britain, and which will be hereafter mentioned. Each of the inferior societies consisted, according to their original institution, of thirty-six members; which number was afterwards reduced to twelve. These twelve chose a secretary and treasurer; and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called 'a Lower Baronial Committee;' which had the immediate direction and superintendence of those five societies. From each lower baronial committee, thus constituted, one member was delegated to an 'Upper Baronial Committee;' which, in like manner, assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of the lower baronial committees in the respective counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of 'District Committees,' and in counties, by the name of

* Report of Secret Committee of House of Lords of Ireland, August 1798.

* County Committees;’ and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronial committees, each upper baronial committee delegating one of its members to the district or county committee; and the district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of the upper baronial committees. Having thus ‘organized’ (as it is termed) the several counties and populous towns, a committee, called ‘a Subordinate Directory,’ was erected in each of the four provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, composed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the districts which they represented; who were delegated to a provincial committee, which held the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces; and a ‘General Executive Directory,’ composed of five persons, was elected by the provincial directories; but the election of this directory was so managed, that none but the secretaries of the provincial directories knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors; the appointment was notified only to those on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus composed, assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the Union, which, by these secret modes of election, was kept utterly ignorant who were the persons to whom this implicit obedience was paid.

§ 2.

Institution of United Irishmen in 1791; and Rise of different Societies in Great Britain.

FOR the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive view of the attempts which have been repeatedly made, in the course of the last eight years, for establishing a similar system in this country, and of the means by which they have been hitherto defeated, as well as in order to enable the House to judge fully of the perseverance with which the system is pursued, and of the nature and tendency of the measures which are carrying on at the present moment, your Committee deem it necessary, before they advert to more recent transactions, to go back to that period, when societies of this tendency first appeared in both kingdoms, and to trace, as shortly as they can, their progress and intercourse to the present time.

The Society of United Irishmen was established in the year 1791; and other societies in Great Britain, particularly the Constitutional Society (which had long existed, but about this time assumed a new character), the Corresponding Society (which was instituted in the spring of 1792), and the societies of persons in Scotland terming themselves ‘*The Friends of the*

People' (which originated at nearly the same period), appear to have adopted, in their fullest extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French revolution. The events which followed, in the course of that year and the year 1792, encouraged among the leading members of these societies, and other persons of similar principles, a sanguine hope of introducing into both countries, under pretence of the 'reform of abuses,' what they termed a '*new order of things*,' founded on the principles of that revolution. The degree of bigotry and enthusiasm with which they attached themselves to these principles, was manifested, as well by the speeches and writings of the members of the societies, as by the zeal with which they laboured to propagate among the lower classes of the community, a spirit of hatred and contempt for the existing laws and government of the country.

It can hardly be necessary to recall to the recollection of the House, the industry with which they endeavoured to disseminate these sentiments, by the circulation of their own proceedings and resolutions; uniformly directed to vilify the forms and principles of the British constitution; to represent the people of this country as groaning under intolerable oppression; to eradicate all religious principle; and to recommend a recurrence to experiments of desperate innovation, similar to those which were at that time adopted in France. For the same purpose, the works of Paine, and other seditious and impious publications, were distributed, throughout almost every part of the kingdom, with an activity and profusion beyond all former example.

So confident were the societies of the efficacy of these measures, that they appear almost universally to have looked forward from the beginning, to the entire overthrow of every existing establishment in these kingdoms, and to the creation of some democratical form of government; either by uniting the whole of the British empire into one republic, or by dividing it into two or more republics. The conspirators in Ireland, unquestionably, always meditated the complete separation of that country from Great Britain: all, however, considered themselves as engaged in one common cause, as far as related to the destruction of the existing constitution; all looked to the success of the disaffected in each country as forwarding their common views; and each was ready to support the other in any resistance to the lawful government: a frequent intercourse among them was therefore considered as important to their ends; and they all invited, or expected, the countenance and aid of France.

The attempts made in the beginning of this conspiracy to disguise the real objects under false pretences, which ought at no time to have imposed even on superficial observers, have long since been abandoned. Subsequent transactions have not merely

shown the extremes to which the nature and principles of these societies naturally led, but have completely unveiled the original and settled designs of the persons chiefly concerned in them. Your Committee beg leave, in this place, to refer the House to his Majesty's Proclamation * of the year 1792, and the several Addresses of both Houses of Parliament thereupon; to the Reports of the Committees of Parliament in this kingdom and in Ireland; and to the different trials for treason and sedition in both kingdoms: and they are confident, that an attentive examination of those documents can leave no doubt in the opinion of the House (even on the circumstances known at that early period) respecting the real nature and extent of the original conspiracy.

§ 3.

First open Attempt in Scotland.

THE groundwork having been thus laid in each kingdom, the first public attempt which was openly directed to the object of overthrowing the government and effecting a revolution was made in Scotland, under circumstances which even then evidently marked the connexion between the disaffected throughout his Majesty's dominions. An assembly, styling itself "A General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland," met at Edinburgh on the 11th of December 1792. Thomas Muir, a leading member of this assembly, endeavoured to prevail upon its members, at one of their meetings, to receive and answer a paper, intituled, "An Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," dated the 23d of November 1792, and set forth in the Appendix (No. 1.); in which the United Irish address the Scotch delegates in what they term "the spirit of civic union in the fellowship of a just and common cause;" and rejoiced, "that the Scotch did not consider themselves as merged and melted down into another country;" but that in the great national question to which the address alluded, "they were still Scotland." They added, "that the cause of

- * Proclamation and Addresses - - - - - 1792.
- Lords Report - - - - - 1794.
- Commons Report - - - - - May 1794.
- Do. do. - - - - - June 1794.
- Irish Lords Report. - - - - - 1798.
- Commons do. - - - - - 1798.
- Trial of Muir, Skirving, Margarot, Gerald, Palmer,
and others, for sedition in Scotland, in 1793 and 1794.
- of Watt and Downie, for treason in Scotland, in 1794.
- of Hardy and others for treason in 1794.
- of Redhead, *al.* Yorke, for sedition, in 1795.
- of Stone for treason in 1796.

“ the United Irish was also the cause of the Scotch delegates ;” that “ Universal Emancipation, with *Representative Legislature*, “ was the polar principle which guided the Society of United “ Irishmen ;” that their end was “ a National Legislature, their “ means, an union of the whole people.” And they recommended assembling the people in each county in, what they term, “ peaceable and constitutional convention ;” the object of which they attempted to disguise by the pretence of reform and petition to Parliament. Several members of the Scotch Convention appear to have been alarmed at the language of this address, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Muir, no answer was sent ; and the meeting adjourned to April 1793. The conduct of Muir in this assembly formed part of the charge of sedition, upon which he was afterwards tried and found guilty. His zeal, however, recommended him to the conspirators in Ireland ; and on the 11th of January 1793, he became a member of the Society of the United Irishmen of Dublin.

He was absent in France at the time of the second meeting of the Scotch Convention, which assembled in April 1793, and again adjourned itself to the 29th October following ; when it met a third time at Edinburgh, after the trial of Muir, who was convicted and sentenced to transportation in August 1793. It is well known that he afterwards escaped from the place of his transportation, and has recently resided in France, pursuing a conduct marked by the most inveterate hostility to his country.

This meeting * of the Scotch Convention in October 1793 appears to have been held in concert with several societies in England, and particularly the Constitutional Society and the London Corresponding Society, already mentioned. These societies afterwards sent delegates to the Scotch Convention ; the terms of whose instructions demonstrate the dangerous views of those who sent them.

Hamilton Rowan, a member of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin (now a fugitive from Ireland, and attainted of high treason), and the Honourable Simon Butler (likewise a member of the Society of United Irishmen), attended this meeting ; and Hamilton Rowan had previously been solicited, by letter from Scotland, on the subject of sending delegates from Ireland to the Convention. It does not appear, however, that these persons bore the distinct character of delegates, but they were received with marked attention ; and the Convention resolved, on the 5th November 1793, “ That any of the members of the “ Society of United Irishmen of Dublin should be admitted to “ speak and vote in the Convention.” On the 22d of November 1793 the Convention had changed its title to that of “ The

* Report of Secret Committee of the House of Commons, June 1794.

“ British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments.” They assumed, in almost every particular, the style and mode of proceeding adopted by the National Convention of France: they divided themselves into ‘sections, committees of organization, instruction, finance, and secrecy;’ granted honours of sitting; made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; entered their minutes “in the first year of the British Convention;” instituted ‘primary societies, provisional assemblies and departments;’ received from their sections a variety of motions and reports, some of which, in their studied affectation of French phrases, had the words “*Vive la Convention*” prefixed to them, and ended with “*Ca Ira*,” and some were dated “first year of the British Convention, one and indivisible.”

The views of this dangerous assembly appear from the minutes of their proceedings, and from the correspondence of Skirving their secretary, Margarot and Gerald, the delegates of the London Corresponding Society, and Hardy, the secretary of that society; which are stated in the Report of the Committee of this House in 1794, and in the Appendix to that Report, and were given in evidence on the trials above referred to.

It is observable upon the face of these minutes that the funds of this Convention were extremely low; so low, that perhaps at first sight the assembly itself may appear to have been rather an object of contempt, from the apparent inadequacy of its pecuniary means, than an object of alarm from the dangerous extravagances of its revolutionary designs. It is happy for the peace of this country that the means of these societies, in their different shapes and stages, have not been more equal to such designs. But the recent proceedings in Ireland too plainly show that though the want of money may retard the progress and cripple the exertions of such conspiracies, yet numbers thus leagued together for the total subversion of the government and constitution of a country possess means (which if not seasonably counteracted) may introduce scenes of the most horrid confusion, rebellion, and blood.

This Convention continued to hold its meetings in the city of Edinburgh until the 4th of December 1793; when its objects evidently tending towards open rebellion, some of the leading members were arrested, together with Skirving, their secretary; and Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald were afterwards tried in Scotland for sedition, and sentenced to transportation. The members of this Convention, notwithstanding the arrest of some of their body, assembled again on the 5th of December, and refused to disperse till compelled by the magistrates; but they continued for some time to meet privately, in different societies,

and to carry on a secret correspondence with various parts of England and Scotland.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, who had already shown the interest they took in the meeting of this Convention, appear (as was to be expected) to have considered its dispersion as hostile to their views, and declared their sentiments, by a resolution of the 20th December 1793; in which, after noticing what they called "the oppressive attempt in Edinburgh to stifle the voice of the people through the British Convention, and the truly patriotic resistance to that attempt," they resolved, "That all or any of the members of the British Convention, and the patriotic societies which delegated members to that Convention, should be received as brothers and members of their Society."

§ 4.

Attempts to assemble a Convention of the People in England.

THE leading English societies which have been already stated to have sent delegates to the Scotch Convention had, during its sittings and for a considerable time previous thereto, been actively employed in measures directed to similar objects. For the purpose of promoting their seditious projects they had carried on a constant correspondence with all the numerous country societies, which had been formed in many populous towns in different parts of the kingdom. They had, as early as in May 1792, presented an address, sufficiently expressive of their principles, to those whom they styled "the Friends of the Constitution at Paris, known by the name of Jacobins." In the end of the same year, after receiving a letter of approbation from persons calling themselves "Friends of Liberty and Equality in France," they instituted a regular committee of foreign correspondence; and they had even proceeded to present addresses to the National Convention in France, which had then assumed the whole legislative and executive power, and was assembled for the purpose of framing a new constitution, and proceeding to the trial of the King. In one of these addresses (particularly noticed in the Report of 1794, but which your Committee think it material again to advert to) they styled the Convention "Servants of a sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind." They rejoice that the revolution had arrived at that point of perfection which enabled them to address them by such a title. They extol the proceedings of the 10th of August as a glorious victory, and add, "*The benefits will in part be ours, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the reward of your perseverance, the prize of virtue.*" In January following, at the

eve of the murder of the French King, and of the commencement of hostilities against this country, Barrere, Roland, and St. André, active members of the French Convention, had been elected honorary members of the Constitutional Society : and two speeches, made by Barrere and St. André, delivered for the express purpose of accelerating the condemnation and execution of the King, asserting the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, and deducing, as its consequence, the unlimited rights of a National Convention, and the personal responsibility of the monarch, were entered on the books of the Constitutional Society ; and the resolution for this purpose was published in the newspapers. Actuated by these principles, the English societies persevered in their design ; and notwithstanding the dispersion of the meeting at Edinburgh, which had assumed the appellation of "the British Convention," proceeded on a plan which they had long had in contemplation, for assembling in England a similar but more extensive meeting, under the appellation of "a Convention of the People."

At a general meeting of the Corresponding Society, held at the Globe Tavern on the 20th January 1794, a resolution and address to the people of England were agreed to, and ordered to be published, expressly directed to the object of assembling a general convention of the people.

At another general meeting of the same Society, held at Chalk Farm on the 14th of April 1794, among a variety of inflammatory resolutions, they declared, that the whole proceedings of the late British Convention at Edinburgh claimed their approbation and applause. They at the same time returned thanks to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, prisoner in Newgate, in the city of Dublin (who had, in March 1794, been chosen an honorary member of the Constitutional Society), as well as to the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, whom they exhorted to persevere in their exertions, to obtain justice for the people of Ireland. The language held on different occasions evidently showed their intention of endeavouring to establish, by force, the authority of such a Convention. They exhorted each other "to prepare courageously for the struggle which they meditated ;" and openly avowed that they meant to obtain the redress, which they professed to seek, "not from Parliament, not from the executive Government, but from themselves, and from their own strength and valour ; from their own laws, and not from the laws of those whom they termed 'plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.'" For the purpose of assembling such a Convention, and of preparing the people at large to look to its proceedings with respect, and to adopt and countenance the doctrine and practices which it might recommend, itinerant members of the societies above mentioned dispersed themselves throughout

different parts of the country, proceeding from town to town, and from village to village, endeavouring to inculcate into the minds of those with whom they conversed the necessity of such a measure as that which they had in contemplation for the reform of the abuses of the government, and the redress of the grievances of the people; and describing, in language varied according to the passions or prejudices of different classes whom they addressed, the nature and extent of the different political purposes which might be effected by a convention once assembled. The dispersion of Paine's works, and other works of a similar tendency, was at the same time continued with increased industry; and the societies flattered themselves that they had, by these means, really made a progress towards preparing a large portion of the nation to favour their project.

The zeal indeed of many of the country societies appears to have outrun the instructions of the agents, and to have carried them into discussions beyond those limits which the persons who planned and instigated the measure thought it prudent in the first instance to prescribe. The agents were instructed to confine the views of the several societies to whom they were deputed, and to point the wishes of individuals purely to the attainment of universal suffrage, from which, once established, it was represented that all the reforms which could be desired would naturally flow; and it appears to have been the design of those who directed the business to prevent the premature discussion of any of those points, which they represented as subordinate, until after the Convention should have been assembled, and this primary object of universal suffrage obtained. No caution or prohibition, however, could prevent many of the country societies from showing how confidently they anticipated, as the result to which the deliberations of that Convention must necessarily lead, the abolition of monarchy, of aristocracy, and of other establishments, which they deemed equally oppressive; and the substitution of a representative government, founded on the new doctrine of the rights of man; and uniting, in one body, all the legislative and executive powers of the state.

This intended Convention was prevented from assembling by the arrest of the secretaries, and of several members of the two societies, called 'the London Corresponding Society,' and 'the Constitutional Society.' The secretaries and leading members of the societies at Sheffield and Norwich (which, together with several other subordinate societies in different parts of the kingdom, were in constant correspondence with them) were also taken into custody. The attention of Parliament was at this period directed to these proceedings; and in consequence of the evidence then laid before a Secret Committee of this House, the

power of detaining suspected persons was entrusted to his Majesty.

The subsequent proceedings are sufficiently known. Some of the persons so arrested were prosecuted for high treason. A grand jury for the county of Middlesex found a bill against Thomas Hardy, the secretary of the London Corresponding Society, and eleven others. Three of the persons so indicted, viz. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall, were tried, and on their trials were acquitted of the charge in the indictment. But the evidence given on those trials established, in the clearest manner, the grounds on which the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had formed their Reports in 1794; and showed, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the views of these persons and their confederates were in their nature completely hostile to the existing government and constitution of this kingdom, and went directly to the subversion of every established and legitimate authority.

After these acquittals, Henry Redhead, *alias* Yorke, who had been committed at the same time on a charge of high treason, was brought to trial at York in July 1795, upon an indictment for a seditious conspiracy; in which Joseph Gale, the printer of a newspaper at Sheffield, and Richard Davison of Sheffield, both of whom had fled from justice, were included. Upon the trial of Yorke on this indictment, he was found guilty, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

§ 5.

Further Proceedings subsequent to the Arrests in 1794.

THE disclosures made upon these trials; the detentions already mentioned; and the powers vested in Government by the "Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government," which received the royal assent on the 23d of May 1794; broke for a time all the measures which had been concerted by the disaffected, and obliged them to proceed with more caution and reserve. But they never appear for a moment to have relinquished their original design; and the nature and constitution of the Corresponding Society (which still subsisted) peculiarly qualified it secretly to continue its machinations, and to extend and diffuse its pernicious principles among the lower orders of the people. The plan of this constitution, as originally proposed, not having been stated in the Reports before referred to, is inserted in the Appendix. It is evident that the overthrow of every part of the government and constitution of this kingdom was in the immediate contemplation of those by whom this plan was formed; and that it was con-

trived with the view of being applied to the most extensive purposes, if they had succeeded in that object, and of enabling the conspirators, after the overthrow of the existing government, to usurp and exercise an uncontrolled authority over the whole kingdom. It does not appear that this plan was ever formally adopted; but so much of it as led to the establishment of a secret system of direction, resembling that of the United Irishmen, was agreed to, and reduced to practice.

Not contented with employing these means gradually to extend their influence through different parts of the kingdom, the leading members of these societies, shortly before the opening of the session of Parliament in October 1795, called together an unlawful meeting in a field near the metropolis, evidently with a view of trying the temper of the populace. Under the pretence of 'debates,' language of the most seditious and inflammatory nature was held to a large multitude, whom curiosity, or other motives, had assembled there, and the most daring libels were uttered against every part of the constitution of these realms.

The public tranquillity appears to your Committee to have been greatly endangered by this step; so exactly resembling that which fifteen years before had nearly led to the destruction of the metropolis: and your Committee are decidedly of opinion, that the shameful and highly criminal outrages which soon after took place on the first day of the session, are, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the influence of these inflammatory proceedings, and of this public and open violation of the laws. It is not without regret that your Committee feel themselves obliged to recall to the recollection of the House, the horrid and sacrilegious attempt against his Majesty's person, with which those outrages were accompanied.

This alarming proof of the dreadful and desperate consequences which meetings and proceedings of such a description naturally tend to produce, made a deep impression on the minds of the public, and necessarily engaged the attention of Parliament. On a full consideration of all the circumstances, the Legislature, by salutary laws, strengthened the authority of the magistrate for the repression of sedition and tumult; provided fresh checks against meetings of a dangerous tendency, and of a description unknown in the history and constitution of this country; increased the penalties of obstinate and repeated guilt, and added a fresh safeguard to the sacred person of his Majesty.

One of the immediate effects of these measures was to put a stop to a practice which had too long been suffered in the metropolis, to the disgrace of all order and government—the open and regular delivery of public lectures, inculcating the doc-

trines of sedition and treason; inciting the hearers to follow the example of France, and animating them to the commission of the most atrocious crimes. This practice has not since been revived in the same shape; but many of the debating societies which subsist at the present time appear to your Committee to be, in a great measure, directed to the same pernicious objects, and to require farther animadversion and correction. Some check was also given to the licentiousness of the press, which had, till then, been in a great measure unrestrained. That licentiousness has furnished, in every part of Europe, one of the most dangerous instruments in the hands of conspirators. The industry with which every species of inflammatory and seditious libels had been disseminated, applying to the various passions and prejudices of every class of society, but particularly of that which is the least informed, and therefore the most open to seduction, is an unanswerable proof both of the extent and of the zeal of the conspiracy in this country.

After the passing of these bills, the London Corresponding Societies sent their delegates into the country, to point out the method of evading them, and for the purpose of feeling the disposition of the people. Two persons, in this character, John Binns and John Gale Jones, were sent by the London Corresponding Society to Birmingham, where they were arrested. They were found addressing a meeting of persons in that town. Upon the person of Jones were found two papers; one a letter of credence from the Society, signed by John Ashley their secretary, introducing Binns and Jones as their accredited delegates; and the other, the instruction of the Society for the conduct of these delegates; both which papers your Committee have inserted in the Appendix (Nos. 3 and 4): they wish particularly to notice, that after directions given to the delegates, to persuade the people whom they were to address, that the sole object of the Society was parliamentary reform, and that the bills last referred to need not prevent their continuing to meet, the 7th article of the instructions is in these words:—
 “ The design of the above articles is to remove misapprehen-
 “ sions relative to the safety of our association under the new
 “ laws. This part of your mission being effected, you are to
 “ strain every power of your mind to awaken the sleeping spi-
 “ rit of liberty; you are to call upon our fellow-citizens to be
 “ ready with us, to pursue our common object, if it must be,
 “ to the scaffold, or rather (if our enemies are desperate
 “ enough to bar up every avenue to inquiry and discussion) to
 “ the field, at the hazard of extermination; convinced that no
 “ temper less decided than this will suffice to regain liberty
 “ from a bold usurping faction. But, to the end that we may
 “ succeed by the irresistible voice of the people, you are to ex-

“ cite in every society the desire which animates our bosoms to
 “ embrace the nation as brethren, and the resolution to bear
 “ every repulse from passion and prejudice which fails to de-
 “ prive us of the sure grounds of argument.” And in the 13th
 article are the following expressions;

“ In a word, you are always to reflect, that you are wrest-
 “ ling with the enemies of the human race, not for yourselves
 “ merely, for you may not see the full day of liberty, but for
 “ the child hanging at the breast; and that the question, whe-
 “ ther the next generation shall be free or not, may greatly
 “ depend on the wisdom and integrity of your conduct in the
 “ generous missions which you and your fellow-deputies now
 “ take upon yourselves.”

Notwithstanding this disposition to resist and evade the effect
 of these bills, yet the seasonable and effectual check thus for a
 second time given to the progress of sedition and treason, avert-
 ed immediate danger; and if it did not extinguish the hopes of
 the conspirators, at least deterred them from the public avowal
 and pursuit of their projects. But the attempt to poison the
 minds of the lower orders of the people, and to prepare the
 means which might be resorted to on any favourable occasion,
 was pursued with unabating perseverance.

During the remainder of the year 1796, the system conti-
 nued to operate silently and secretly; but in the beginning of
 the following year its contagious influence was found to have
 extended to a quarter where it was the least to be suspected, and
 produced effects which suddenly threatened the dearest interests
 and immediate safety of the country with the most imminent
 danger.

The mutiny which took place in the fleet, if considered in
 all its circumstances, will be traced to an intimate connexion
 with the principles and practices described by your Committee,
 and furnishes the most alarming proof of the efficacy of those
 plans of secrecy and concert, so often referred to, and of the fa-
 cility with which they are applied for inflaming and heightening
 discontent (from whatever cause it proceeds), and for converting
 what might otherwise produce only a hasty and inconsiderate
 breach of subordination and discipline, into the most settled and
 systematic treason and rebellion. These principles and this con-
 cert could alone have produced the wide extent of the mutiny,
 and the uniformity of its operation in so many and such distant
 quarters. The persons principally engaged in it, even in its
 early stages, were many of them United Irishmen. The mu-
 tineers were bound by secret oaths to the perpetration of the
 greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give to the ships in
 mutiny the name of ‘ The Floating Republic,’ and this attempt
 was countenanced both by papers published in France and by a

paper here, called 'The Courier,' which has on many occasions appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause. In some instances a disposition was manifested to direct the efforts of the mutineers to the object of compelling the government of this country to conclude a peace with the foreign enemy; and they at length even meditated betraying the ships of his Majesty into the hands of that enemy. All these circumstances combine to impress your Committee with a firm persuasion that whatever were the pretences and misrepresentations employed to seduce from their duty a brave and loyal body of men; yet a spirit, in itself so repugnant to the habits and dispositions of British sailors, must have had its origin in those principles of foreign growth which the societies of the conspirators have industriously introduced into this country, and which they have incessantly laboured to disseminate among all descriptions of men; but especially among those whose fidelity and steadiness is most important to the public safety. A striking instance of the desperate extent to which these principles were carried appears in the proceedings of a court martial held in the month of June 1797, an abstract of which your Committee have thought it right to insert in the Appendix (No. 17). The opinion stated by your Committee will be still more confirmed by the repeated and atrocious attempts (bearing still more evidently the character of those principles in which they originated) which have been made in a great number of instances since the general mutiny was suppressed; and of which it will be necessary for your Committee hereafter to take notice. At the period now referred to, these systematic attempts made to seduce both the sailors and soldiers from their duty and allegiance, to incite them to mutiny, and to engage them in plans for the subversion of government, had become so apparent and frequent as to attract the immediate notice of the Legislature. Among these attempts, that made by a person of the name of Fellows, convicted at Maidstone in July 1797, deserves particular attention. The seditious hand-bill which he was proved to have distributed among the soldiers, is inserted in the Appendix (No. 5); and it appears from a letter (also there inserted) (No. 6), written by him to Evans and Bone, two of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society, and who have successively filled the office of secretary to that society, shortly before his arrest, that he had gone to Maidstone for the purpose of circulating seditious papers, as well as of making reports of the Society at Maidstone.

In consequence of the prevalence of these dangerous practices, two acts of Parliament were passed in the year 1797*; one in-

* 37 Geo. III. c. 70. 37 Geo. III. c. 123.

fixing severe penalties on any person guilty of inciting any of his Majesty's forces by sea or land to mutiny; the other for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths. The propriety and necessity of both these acts was farther evinced shortly after. A person of the name of Fuller was detected two days after the passing the first act, in attempting to seduce a soldier belonging to the Coldstream regiment of guards, was found guilty at the following sessions of the Old Bailey, and sentenced to death; and one Charles Radcliffe, prosecuted under the second act, at the last court of session held for the County Palatine of Chester, was found guilty of administering the oath or test of the Society of United Englishmen. The paper found upon Fuller, and which formed the chief ground of his conviction, is inserted in the Appendix (No. 7), and deserves particular attention.

Your Committee have thus traced the chief transactions which took place in this country connected with the general design of the conspiracy, nearly to the period when its effects were manifested in their most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by the atrocious and unexampled rebellion which broke out in the beginning of the last summer. About this time, either with a view to that very rebellion, or in consequence of it, the societies in this country entered into still closer connexion with the Society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape, more similar than before, to that extraordinary combination, the nature and effects of which have been already fully described. It will therefore be necessary for your Committee, in this place, shortly to review the progress of this Society, and of the steps by which it gradually prepared the way for all the recent miseries and calamities which have been experienced in Ireland.

§ 6.

Progress of the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, till the Period of the Rebellion; its Intercourse with France, and with leading Members of Societies in this Country.

THE transactions of the conspirators in that country are so fully detailed in the different Reports of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, that your Committee do not think it necessary to state them at length; and will only call the attention of the House to such parts of them as prove, from the subsequent conduct of the conspirators, the falsehood of the early pretences by which they attempted to disguise their real views, as well as the intercourse kept up by them with the French Directory, chiefly through England, and the communication between leading members of the Society of United Irishmen, and those of similar societies in Great Britain.

As early as in the year 1793, hopes and expectations were held out of French assistance; prayers were publicly offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit, for the success of the French arms; military associations were entered into without any legal authority; and repeated attempts were made to seduce the soldiery from their duty.

In February 1794, Jackson, an Irish clergyman, passed from France, through England, into Ireland, for the purpose of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with a view to an invasion of both kingdoms. He was particularly recommended to some of the leading members of the English societies; and he transmitted to the French government, both from London and from Dublin, papers on the subject of his mission, which had been previously communicated to other persons in each kingdom*.

In April 1794, he had many confidential conversations at Dublin on this subject, with Hamilton Rowan, a leader of the United Irishmen, before mentioned, who was then in prison, and since his escape has been attainted for high treason; with Wolfe Tone, also a leading member of the same society, who was lately taken on board the French ship the *Hoche*, in the actual attempt to invade Ireland; and with Lewins, now the resident envoy from the United Irish at Paris.

Although the trials of Jackson and Stone, and the arrest and flight of Hamilton Rowan and Tone, checked these projects for a time, the Society of United Irishmen pursued their measures with unabating activity. The Government of Ireland acquired information respecting the conduct of particular persons, whom they had even at that time sufficient ground to consider as chiefly engaged in this treasonable conspiracy; particularly Lewins, above referred to; Henry and John Sheares, since convicted of high treason, and executed; Oliver Bond, and Wolfe Tone, convicted of the same crime, and both since dead, the latter by his own hands, to escape the punishment due to his crimes; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in prison in consequence of the wounds he received in resisting the officers of justice, and has been since attainted of high treason; and Arthur O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmet, whose individual guilt, as well as that of the whole conspiracy, is sufficiently proved by their own confessions.

It is stated, in the confessions of the three persons last named, that the first communication which came to their knowledge between the Irish and the French Directories, was an offer made by the latter, in the year 1796, to send a French army to Ireland to the assistance of the republicans. But the Committee

* Vide Jackson and Stone's Trial, and Report of Commons in Ireland.

of the House of Lords in Ireland have stated it as their opinion, that Lewins had been dispatched to France, in the summer of 1795, to request this assistance; and your Committee are convinced, from secret intelligence which has been laid before them, that this opinion was well founded.

The invasion of Ireland, which was attempted in December 1796, was arranged at an interview which took place on the frontier of France between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche, in the summer of that year. After the failure of this attempt, the solicitations of the Irish Directory were renewed; a proposal, which arrived from France early in 1797, was accepted, and an answer transmitted, through England, by the means of Arthur O'Connor; Lewins was dispatched to Paris in April, and M'Nevin in June. Both were employed in urging the invasion of Ireland, and in counteracting the negotiation for peace with the French Republic, which his Majesty's Minister was then carrying on at Lisle. A conference was held in the same summer, in London, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald and a French agent who came from Hamburgh, in which further arrangements were made for the intended invasion.

The arrest of several persons in Ireland, and the flight of others; and the memorable defeat, by Lord Duncan, of the fleet intended to protect the expedition fitted out from Holland, again disconcerted the projects of the conspirators. After this event, the French government appears to have repeatedly urged the leaders of the Irish Union to immediate insurrection; but the more cautious among them were unwilling to act, until the French should actually have landed; and their opinion for a time prevailed.

The correspondence was in the mean time continued: the projects of rebellion and invasion were ripening; and at this period the hopes of the Irish conspirators derived fresh encouragement from reports of the progress of new societies in Great Britain, formed on the same plan with themselves. A regular communication was kept up between the Irish and English committees, through Arthur O'Connor, who had come from Ireland to England early in January 1798; and in the reports transmitted by the English societies to Ireland, the force of the United Englishmen (a society which had been recently formed on the model of the United Irish, and of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) was represented to be considerable, though your Committee have reason to believe that there was much exaggeration in these reports. Arthur O'Connor*, in a letter to his brother, dated London, 13th February 1798, and seized in Lord Edward Fitzgerald's apartments at Leinster-house, states,

* Vide Trial of O'Connor.

* That Scotland is Irish all over—that the people here give no opinion, though it is easy to learn they look for a change.”

At a provincial meeting in Ireland, held on the 1st of February 1798, it was stated to the meeting, by a person just arrived from Dublin, that “ The French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was more flattering, three delegates had been sent from the United Britons to the Irish national committee, and from that moment the Irish were to consider England, Scotland, and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cause.” An address was at the same time produced, which it was stated the delegates of Britain had brought with them to the Irish national committee. It was also stated, that the priest O’Coigly was one of the delegates mentioned to have been then lately returned from France; and it was added, that he, and another priest who had fled from Ireland, were the principal persons who had opened the communication with the United Britons.

At another provincial meeting, held on the 27th February 1798, it appears to have been stated, “ that a delegate had arrived from France; that the French were using every endeavour to have the expedition for Ireland completed; and that the Irish delegate came home to cause the United Irish to put themselves into a state of organization to join them, as the Directory positively assured the Irish delegates, that the expedition would set out for Ireland the end of April or the beginning of May.” It was also stated, that there had been a meeting of all the delegates in England and Scotland held in London; but that their resolutions could not be obtained till the next provincial meeting, to be held on the 25th of March.

The address, which the delegates of United Britons were so stated, at the provincial meeting of the 1st of February 1798, to have brought with them to the Irish national committee, your Committee have inserted in the Appendix (No. 8). About the same time a most seditious paper, sent from the London Corresponding Society to the Society of United Irishmen, signed J. T. Crosfield, President—Thomas Evans, Secretary—dated 30th January 1798 (also inserted in the Appendix, No. 9), was published in Ireland, in a paper called “ *The Press*,” and the original seized in March 1798, in consequence of the apprehension of Arthur O’Connor in England.

The priest O’Coigly, referred to in these transactions, and who has since been convicted and executed at Maidstone, was a native of Ireland, and went from that country to Cuxhaven in 1797, with another Irishman, who was obliged to fly from Ireland, and passed into Holland at the time when the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Winter was about to sail, with a large body of troops,

on an expedition destined against Ireland. When that fleet had failed without the troops, O'Coigly and his companion went to Paris, where finding themselves thwarted by the jealousy of the resident envoy from the Irish Union, O'Coigly returned to England about the middle of December 1797, and went to Ireland in January 1798.

Whilst in Ireland, he appears to have had interviews and correspondence with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the Irish conspirators; and he returned to England about the middle of February 1798.

Intelligence was conveyed to Government of this man's designs, and particularly of his intention to pass into France, for the purposes which afterward appeared to be the object of his mission; he was therefore narrowly watched; and on the 28th of February 1798, he was, together with Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, Allen, and Leary, taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France. The particular circumstances attending these attempts are detailed in the evidence on his trial. One of the papers seized by the officers who apprehended him, was an address from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," set forth in the Appendix (No. 10); clearly demonstrating the traitorous views of those who formed the address, and were instrumental in the attempt to transmit it to France.

It appears also to your Committee, both from previous and subsequent information, that Arthur O'Connor, who had been, to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confidence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but was confidentially employed by the remaining members of that Directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of Lewins,

§ 7.

Further Intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies; Formation of new Societies, and their Proceedings.

AT the meetings of the London Corresponding Society, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the Society was to form a republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in Parliament, or even annual elections, or universal suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your Committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of Ashley (one of the persons arrested in 1794), and who had, for a long time, been secretary to this Society, was now acting as their agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French

army. Meetings were held, to contrive the means of procuring arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French force, in case of an invasion. The leading members of the disaffected societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional meeting, which was held at a cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable publication called "*The Press*." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the conspiracy. It was particularly attended by Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment, in the metropolis and throughout the country, and of directing it to the object of seizing or assassinating the King, the Royal Family, and many of the Members of both Houses of Parliament. An officer, of some experience in his Majesty's service, was selected as their military leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprise. But although the apprehension that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt; yet the general language held among these persons, at this period, proved, that they had brought themselves to the opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were at the same time made to form in London, upon the plan of the United Irishmen, the Society of United Englishmen or United Britons, before referred to: and O'Coigly and John Binns appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this Society into four districts, including a large part of the coasts of this kingdom the most exposed to invasion: and it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this Society with those of a Society of United Irishmen; of which your Committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the societies through England, which had used to correspond with the London Corresponding Society, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming societies of United Englishmen; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers; used ciphers or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them, and principally carried on their intercourse by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognised by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or incon-

siderate persons, throughout the country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions : and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded, was still farther extended by the establishment of clubs, among the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which songs were sung, toasts given, and language held, of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a meeting of United Englishmen, to be held at a house in Clerkenwell, warrants of arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 18th of April 1798. There was found upon the secretary of the London Corresponding Society (who appears to have officiated as president at that meeting) the oath proposed for the United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix (No. 11) ; another oath, of the same nature, was found under the table ; and also a printed constitution of the Society of United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix (Nos. 12 and 13).

Information having also been received of an extraordinary meeting of the delegates and secretary of the London Corresponding Society, intended to be assembled at a large room in Wych-street, on the 19th of April 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested ; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these arrests, the connexion between the London Corresponding Society and the London Society of United Englishmen was clearly established.

It appeared, that about forty divisions of United Englishmen had been formed in London ; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting ; and that many similar societies were forming in different parts of the country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different counties in Great Britain should, respectively, be divided into districts ; in each of which a central society was to be established in the principal town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller societies in that district, and with the general society in London. And this system was so constructed, as to admit of still further subdivision, if the increase of numbers had been such as the leaders hoped.

It appears to your Committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of societies of United Englishmen, was in London and the parts adjacent ; and in Lancashire, and some parts of the west of England and of Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and in the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner ; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident

in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of printed copies of the 'Constitution of United Englishmen' have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the Society was making great progress, when it was checked by the arrest of several of its leaders in 1798.

A Society of United Englishmen had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it consisted of about fifty divisions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of these divisions consisted of not less than fifteen members, and was again subdivided when the number of its members exceeded thirty-six. This Society has been particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the soldiers in different regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of his Majesty's forces, of every description in this kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that these diabolical practices have not been successful in any considerable degree. The test used for the soldiers is set forth in the Appendix (No. 14). In other respects the Society has followed the United Irish and the United English formed in London, in their constitution, their test, and their signs of secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction; the whole being governed by the persons who form the Committee of United Englishmen, styled "The National Committee of England," who are, apparently, unknown to the rest of the members of the Society, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually members of the Society; or, if they were members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the meetings. In some degree this persuasion may have been well founded; but your Committee are induced to think, that some art was used to strengthen this impression, for the purpose of giving greater encouragement to the members in their hopes of final success.

The societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a delegate to the committee, called The County Committee; which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish frequently passing and repassing between

Cheshire or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English societies. Among the persons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your Committee have remarked O'Coigly, who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention. He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before mentioned. He then wore a military dress, and passed by the name of Captain Jones, the same appellation by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charterhouse Square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester, leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journeys between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest; and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen and United Irish, at Manchester and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport at least, of his mission, and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him, very strong assurances.

The Society at Manchester seems to have been the central society of an extensive district; and to have been managed by a very zealous and active committee. It frequently sent delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire. Their correspondence appears to have extended to the most distant parts of England, as well as to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Liverpool also became the seat of another central society, presiding over a surrounding district, and corresponding with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland; and different emissaries, some of whom were foreigners, about this time were sent through various parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the numbers and dispositions of the societies of United English and United Irish.

Whilst the societies in England were thus endeavouring to form a Society of United Englishmen, or of United Britons, on the model of the Irish Society, attempts were made in Scotland to form a distinct Society of 'United Scotsmen' on the same plan. And your Committee cannot forbear to remark the industry with which it has been attempted in this instance, as well as in others, to separate Scotland as well as Ireland from England, and to found, on the ruins of the established government, three distinct republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The attempts to form a Society of United Scotsmen had made little progress till the spring of 1797; but from the month of April

1797 until November following (when a discovery was made in the county of Fife, on which George Mealmaker was brought to trial, and convicted of sedition) these attempts appear to have been attended with more success, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Fife, and Perth. Glasgow, and the county of Ayr, were the places in which this spirit first manifested itself, and from which emissaries were sent into different parts of the country, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the Society, and disseminating what they termed, 'political knowledge.'

The societies thus formed in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a system almost as regular and complete as that which was established in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the same, and the studied secrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of internal arrangement, formed its great characteristic. By a general rule of their association, no society was to consist of more than sixteen members, and when any society had obtained a number of members exceeding sixteen, it was to divide itself into two societies. In some small towns there were three or more such societies, all of which were sometimes assembled, by their individual members, or by a committee from each society; and such assemblies were termed 'Parochial Meetings.' Each of these Parochial Meetings had a secretary, who was also treasurer; and one or two delegates were chosen to represent the Parochial at the County Meeting, which was composed of delegates from all the Parochial Meetings within the county or district, and was held every six weeks. The delegates were elected by ballot; but the ballot was so conducted that no person knew on whom the choice fell, except the secretary and the person chosen. This election was sometimes made, by each member whispering in the ear of the secretary the name of the person for whom he gave his vote; and as there could be no material check on the declaration of the secretary, it is evident that the election of delegates might be managed in any manner most agreeable to the leaders of the Society. The meetings called 'County Meetings' were not restricted to the known divisions of the counties, but were composed of delegates from Parochial Meetings, within either larger or smaller districts, according to the number of United Scotsmen in each neighbourhood. At the County Meetings, delegates were elected, to represent the societies at a 'National Meeting,' in the same secret manner as was used for the election of the delegates to the County Meetings; and the place of that meeting was not generally disclosed. The secretary of the County Meeting gave the delegate, when chosen, a small slip of paper, containing the name of a person to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This person was called '*The Intermediate.*' The counties were also distinguished by numbers, and not by their

names; and the delegate received, on another slip of paper, the number of the county, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The meeting assuming this name was a committee formed of delegates from the County Meetings, and assembled every seven weeks; and there the most important business of the Society was transacted. This meeting received reports from a secret committee and nominally directed its conduct, but the secret committee really had the chief management. This committee was elected, from amongst the delegates at the National Meeting, in the same secret manner as those delegates had been chosen at the County Meeting, the persons elected being only known to the secretary; and the committee, thus secretly formed, did not disclose itself in the transaction of business; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a person (already noticed) called '*The Intermediate*;' who delivered their orders, and who was the same person to whom the delegates had been directed to apply for information respecting the place of assembly of the National Meeting. Except therefore to the intermediate, to the secretary, and to each other, the persons composing the secret committee remained wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the same mysterious secrecy; and though this system of blind obedience had the effect of disgusting and alarming some of the delegates, who perceived themselves to be instruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purposes, of which the extent was never fully disclosed to them; yet the committee, thus formed, continued to preserve its general influence; disbursing at its pleasure the money collected; giving all orders for the places of the National Meetings; sending missionaries, disseminating papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the business without control.

The National Meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glasgow; and from reports of what passed at those meetings, it appears that they corresponded with the Society of United Britons, and sent delegates to England, and received delegates from thence. When the meeting broke up, each delegate received a note of the time appointed for the next meeting; which he was to deliver to the secretary of his own County Meeting, when the new delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were seldom carried on in writing: some papers, however, have been discovered, which clearly show that the Society had the most dangerous objects in view; and that some of its members were sanguine enough to profess an opinion, "that if the flattering accounts which they received from London were real, the emancipation of the country was at no great distance, when they should rally round the standard of Liberty."

This system of Union, as well as that of the United Englishmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reason to believe that it was introduced by delegates from that country. Signs were adopted for the purpose of distinguishing the members, as was practised in Ireland; but the knowledge of the signs seems to have been only imperfectly diffused; they never have been generally understood; or having been altered at different times in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their sanguine expectation of success, these conspirators formed wild and extravagant plans of seizing, in the same night, all the leading people over the whole island. If these persons should resist, they were to be put to death; if they submitted quietly, their lives and property were to be spared, but they were to be kept in custody till a new constitution should be formed; which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An oath or test was formally administered, and printed papers were circulated under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen," a copy of which is set forth in the Appendix (No. 15).

The measures of this conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his indictment, escaped to the continent, and has become a member of a Society at Hamburgh, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of '*The Philanthropic Society*.'

In addition to this view of the proceedings of the societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst the rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals in this country who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the rebels, that they became the objects of criminal prosecution. Among these a man of the name of Martin Dunnovan was indicted, for distributing at Gosport the address stated in the Appendix (No. 16) intituled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your Committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last summer assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same plan, the United Irishmen in this country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by means of secret combinations among such

of them as have found their way into the naval service, and by extending their societies both in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the fleet, has been too fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a variety of courts martial, the proceedings of which have been laid before your Committee, and which contain matter so serious and important that your Committee have thought it right to insert an abstract of them in the Appendix (Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). It appears, that oaths have been tendered by the mutineers to the crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the King or his Government." That they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France, with the express view of co-operating, for the expulsion of the Protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic government; and it has been part of their plan to murder their officers, to seize on the ship, and carry her to France or Ireland.

On another occasion, the oath has been as follows: "I swear to be true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret; and I do agree to carry the ship into Brest the next time the ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except the master; and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, and afterwards to kill and destroy the Protestants."

The mutineers on board one of his Majesty's ships appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the ship to France, in expectation that they would there be promoted in proportion to their crimes; that one of their ringleaders was to be appointed captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French against Ireland; and this deep-laid villany was disguised and aggravated by a degree of hypocrisy and imposture scarcely to be paralleled: the particulars are stated in the Appendix (No. 20).

The mutineers in another ship were proved to be connected with Corresponding Societies at Nottingham. The oath which they attempted to administer was, "to carry the ship into an enemy's port, either French, Dutch, or Irish;" and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an enemy's ship, to shoot their own officers on the quarter-deck.

While these proceedings of the United Irishmen in the

Next exhibit so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your Committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great Britain, for the purposes of sedition and treason, the societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the most formidable, particularly at the present moment; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these societies is much increased, from the constant communication which they maintain with the societies in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumstance of their being at this moment subject to the same secret direction and the same chiefs.

These societies have been instituted not only in London but in different parts of the country, and have formed themselves into subdivisions. In the Appendix (Nos. 23 and 24) are inserted printed forms of certificates of election to the Society, which were seized among the papers of a person long engaged in this conspiracy. One of these forms has been framed for a 'London Society.' The other appears to relate to a society called an '*External Society*.' The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in these certificates to the constitution and the test confirm the unquestionable information which your Committee have received, that these societies form a part of the dreadful system which was unhappily established in Ireland. The constitution of the United Irishmen, such as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and copies of this constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable paper recently found at one of those meetings, of which Government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix (No. 25). Other papers, seized at the same

meeting, strongly confirm the account which your Committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland), of keeping the accounts of the Society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the members. Your Committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix (No. 26) copy of a printed card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly, among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as general secretary to the different societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your Committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this Society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this Society. But the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country, rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid and form the committee; by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on, through *Hamburgh*, with France.

Among these plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798 it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen; and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the capital in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society in effecting an insurrection in London at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period another project was secretly formed (of which

your Committee have received more distinct information) for collecting, at one point, a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the river Thames, to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be administered; large rewards were to be promised; they were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French: they were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions; and were to make an attack, by surprise, at the same moment, on both Houses of Parliament, on the Tower, and on the Bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by Government, respecting the proceedings and plans of the conspirators, the seizure and detention of some of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize these extravagant designs when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and although these conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprise would be immediately resisted, your Committee have received undoubted proof that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by agents from Ireland, to concert with the French government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another expedition to co-operate with the rebels in that kingdom. The time for making this attempt seems to be in a great measure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the traitors in Ireland tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your Committee; and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their confederates in this country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion by another French force on different parts of the coasts of this kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the conspirators, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the species of warfare which the French have had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident from a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last session, on the treatment of prisoners of war), and to those of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been

destined to command an expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report (Nos. 27 and 28). For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland; it is also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an insurrection in the metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom where these societies are most numerous. Your Committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while Government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors; but your Committee are, at the same time, so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the Society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the House.

§ 8.

Societies at Hamburgh.

IN addition to this mass of treason in Great Britain and in Ireland, your Committee find, that, for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a committee of United Irishmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the conspiracies carried on against their respective countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a correspondence which has long subsisted among the British and Irish societies established at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this correspondence with Great Britain and Ireland has frequently been covered by the pretence of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of Jacobinism in Holstein and the North of Germany, and generally in all the northern parts of Europe. Many emissaries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been dispatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the continent, as cir-

cumstances required. There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a society called '*The Philanthropic Society*,' for the purpose of correspondence with the republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the Corresponding Societies established in Great Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the reform of all kingdoms and states. The leading members of this Society, who direct all the rest, compose a committee of about twenty persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The members of the subordinate societies at Hamburgh and Altona are all under the control of the committee, or principal society before-mentioned. This committee constantly corresponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has secretaries skilled in different languages, and corresponding agents in different towns, particularly in London. It may become a formidable engine in the hands of the French Directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress; but there is reason to hope that it has at length attracted the notice of the governments of those places.

CONCLUSION.

UPON a review of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your Committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction—that the safety and tranquillity of these kingdoms have, at different periods from the year 1791 to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traiterous plans and practices of societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate foreign enemy:

That, although the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland has alone been enabled to attain its full strength and maturity; yet the societies instituted on similar principles in this country had all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of his Majesty's faithful subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary powers, which Parliament has, in its wisdom, from time to time confided to his Majesty's government:

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connexion has been maintained between all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings, in both kingdoms, were no other than the entire overthrow of the British constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the laws and constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even these circumstances by no means appear to your Committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger passed.

The principles and views of the conspirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the assistance and co-operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purposes, continues undiminished: and the system of those secret societies which are at once the instruments of seditious conspiracy at home, and the channel of treasonable correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed.

Your Committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the ports of France, for the invasion of this country, or of Ireland. The activity of seditious and treasonable societies, in their correspondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the enemy; and the principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful oaths, which is the great characteristic of these societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprises, and by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal inquiry in the next. To this principle therefore, in the opinion of your Committee, such further measures, as Parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the public safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your Committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which, in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the constitution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to his Majesty's Government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger) has, under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the correspondence with the enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progress and communication of sedition and treason at home. But from particular circumstances which have come under the observation of your

Committee in the course of their inquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more compleat, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be hereafter, detained on suspicion of treasonable practices shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the metropolis.

The whole of the secret information which has been laid before your Committee has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to his Majesty's Government; and the very circumstances which created this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclosing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the House the general result, and on which their judgment is founded; but they trust that they have laid before the House sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies to their country carry on their dangerous conspiracies, can only be defeated by a corresponding vigilance on the part of Government, and by the exercise of such additional powers, as may from time to time be entrusted to it by Parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your Committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of Parliament, they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the system of secret societies, the establishment of which has, in other countries, uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and, by facilitating the progress of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be suffered to exist in these kingdoms compatibly with the safety of their government and constitution. and with their security against foreign force and domestic treason.

Your Committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of vigilance and precaution which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the projects which have been so long pursued by our foreign and domestic enemies. Impressed with a just sense of the blessings enjoyed under our happy constitution, which distinguish this country from every nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of society have shown their determination to preserve those blessings entire, and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence.

While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the kingdom, and while the wisdom of the Legislature encourages and directs its exertions for the public safety, your Committee entertain a full conviction that the religion, the laws, and the constitution of Great Britain, and with them the interests and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's subjects, will, in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest, under the protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the government, and by the courage, the patriotism, and the virtue of the nation.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, (No. 1.)

*Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, to the
Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland.*

November 23^d, 1792.

WE take the liberty of addressing you in the spirit of civic union, in the fellowship of a just and common cause. We greatly rejoice that the spirit of freedom moves over the face of Scotland; that light seems to break from the chaos of her internal government; and that a country so respectable for her attainments in science, in arts, and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters, and liberty, and now rises to distinction; not by a calm, contented, secret wish for a reform in parliament, but by openly, actively, and urgently *willing* it, with the unity and energy of an embodied nation. We rejoice that you do not consider yourselves as merged and melted down into another country, but that in this great national question you are still Scotland—the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher spoke, and Wallace fought.

Away from us and from our children, those puerile antipathies so unworthy of the manhood of nations, which insulate individuals as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the savage. We esteem and we respect you. We pay merited honour to a nation in general well educated and well informed, because we know that the ignorance of the people is the cause and effect of all civil and religious despotism. We honour a nation regular in their lives and strict in their manners, because we conceive private morality to be the only secure foundation of public policy. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we trust that they will now exert themselves, not so much in perusing and penning the histories of other countries, as in making their own a subject for the historian. May we venture to observe to them that mankind have been too retrospective, canonized antiquity and undervalued themselves. Man has reposed on ruins, and rested his head on some fragments of the Temple of Liberty, or at most amused himself in pacing the measurement of the edifice, and nicely limiting its

proportions ; not reflecting that this temple is truly Catholic, the ample earth its area, and the arch of Heaven its dome.

We will lay open to you our hearts ;—our cause is your cause. If there is to be a struggle between us, let it be which nation shall be foremost in the race of mind ; let this be the noble animosity kindled between us, who shall first attain that free constitution from which both are equi-distant, who shall first be the saviour of the empire.

In this society and its affiliated societies, the Catholic and the Presbyterian are at this instant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other ; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample, and substantial justice to the Catholics, and when this is attained, a combined exertion for a reform in parliament is the condition of our compact, and the seal of our communion.

Universal emancipation with representative legislature is the polar principle which guides our society, and shall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of opposition with ministry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Irishmen with Irishmen, and in that coalition alone we find an object worthy of reform, and at the same time the strength and sinew both to attain and secure it. It is not upon external circumstances, upon the pledge of man or minister, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Irish nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or from France, but manufacture it ourselves, and work it up with those materials which the hearts of Irishmen furnish them with at home. We do not worship the British, far less the Irish constitution, as sent down from Heaven, but we consider it as human workmanship, which man has made, and man can mend. An unalterable constitution, whatever be its nature, must be despotism. It is not the constitution, but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the English, the Scotch, and the Irish nations.—Rights which can neither be bought nor sold, granted by charter, or forestalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birthright of all, and which it is the business of a constitution to define, to enforce, and to establish. If Government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not by the obstinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicanism.

We have told you what our situation was, what it is, what it ought to be ; our end, a national legislature ; our means, an union of the whole people. Let this union extend throughout the empire. Let all unite for all, or each man suffer for all. In each country let the people assemble in peaceful and constitutional convention. Let delegates from each country digest a plan of reform, best adapted to the situation and circumstances

of their respective nations, and let the legislatures be petitioned at once by the urgent and unanimous voice of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

You have our ideas. Answer us, and that quickly. This is not a time to procrastinate. Your illustrious Fletcher has said, that the liberties of a people are not to be secured without passing through great difficulties, and no toil or labours ought to be declined to preserve a nation from slavery. He spoke well; and we add, that it is incumbent on every nation who adventures into a conflict for freedom, to remember it is on the event (however absurdly) depends the estimation of public opinion; honour and immortality, if fortunate; if otherwise, infamy and oblivion. Let this check the rashness that rushes unadvisedly into the committal of national character, or *if that be already made*, let the same consideration impel us all to advance with active, not passive perseverance, with manly confidence and calm determination, smiling with equal scorn at the bluster of official arrogance, and the whisper of private malevolence, *until we have planted the flag of freedom on the summit, and are at once victorious and secure.*

(Signed) William Drennan, Chairman.
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

APPENDIX, (No. 2.)

The Report of the Committee of Constitution of the London Corresponding Society. [Printed for the Use of the Members.] Sold by Thomas Spence, No. 8, Little Turnstile, High Holborn.

Fellow Citizens,

KNOWING from experience, that those who (through the depraved state of what should be the representative body) are suffered to prey on the vitals of our country, derive the principal part of their success, in opposing an equal representation from the active circulation of falsehoods, respecting this and other similar societies; we think it adviseable, that you should give an explicit declaration of your PRINCIPLES and WISHES, which we conceive to be as follow:

1. That all men are by nature free, equal, and independent of each other.
2. That to enjoy all the advantages of civil society, it is not necessary that individuals should relinquish more of their natural independence than is required to fulfil this injunction, "Let the minority yield a friendly submission to the majority."
3. That no majority, however great, can justly deprive the minority of any part of their civil rights; wherever it is attempted, the social bond is broken, and the minority have a right to resist.

4. The civil rights of every individual are equality of voice, in the making of laws, and in the choice of persons by whom those laws are to be administered.—Equality before the law, whether in claiming its protection or submitting to its sentence. Freedom to publish his opinion, to exercise his religious worship without molestation or restriction; and to enjoy his property, subject only to such contributions as may be impartially levied for the public service.

5. Submission to any measure, does not imply silence as to the propriety or impropriety thereof.

6. Every power entrusted to a magistrate, implies a responsibility for the exercise of that power.

7. The foregoing are not new, but are the original principles of English government.

8. The total departure from the principle of equality in the election of the legislative body, commonly called the House of Commons, is the chief cause why the people of Britain are now deprived of the benefit of the foregoing principles; and in place thereof labour under a continued system of extortion and monopoly.

9. *The Corn Act*—is a grievance immediately resulting from the restriction of the choice of representatives to men of landed property; by it the price of bread in general is doubled, and sometimes much more than doubled; for whenever this country happens to be blessed with an abundant season, a part of the taxes under which we groan is applied to encourage the exportation, and advance the price of corn. Thus we pay one tax to Government, to give the landed man an opportunity of laying on another. The hackneyed pretence for this act is, “the welfare of the farmer.” The real intention of it is, to enable the monopolizers of farms to pay enormous rents.

10. *Game Laws*.—Though too evidently calculated to disarm the nation, may in general be attributed to the same restriction; by them, even the farmer, on whose property the game is fed, is robbed of every constitutional right of a Briton, and subjected to the brutality of a baron in the form of a country justice, from whom there is no appeal.

11. *Excise Laws, and Stamp Duties*—(and the consequent system of spies and informers) equally repugnant to the professed principles of the constitution, and most extensive in their oppression; are often introduced merely as engines of corporation influence; for, in some instances, the produce of the tax does not pay the expence of collection; were the sense of the nation fairly taken, it is impossible to believe but that whatever sum might be necessary for the public service, it would be raised by means less obnoxious and less expensive.

12. *The Mutiny Act*—which would never have existed, had not the bulk of the people been excluded from representation. It reflects a charge of hypocrisy on those who affect to bewail

the late events in France, yet calmly view the defenders of their own country subjected to every species of fraud, insult, and cruelty. The military excellence of true republicans, in all ages, proves it to be unnecessary. Convince a Briton, that he is about to fight for a country in which his rights are duly consulted, and the cat of nine tails may be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

13. *The Impress Service*—equally cruel with the foregoing, is another effect of partial representation: it has lately been proved, that the expence of this service, if applied to increase the seamen's pay, would render impressing unnecessary; but it is more consistent with the government of a faction, to distribute the sum among the officers of corporations.

14. The ill effects of partial representation are not confined to men in private stations: we challenge contradiction when we assert, that, in general, promotion, whether in the army, navy, or church, is the effect of parliamentary connection, and the reward of parliamentary prostitution.

15. We cannot entertain a doubt, that the foregoing statement of grievances will be admitted as just by our countrymen at large, and also that an equal representation, by universal and annual suffrage, would tend immediately to redress them. It remains to prove, that the difficulties said to attend such a scheme are merely the chimerical inventions of interested men.

16. Let us suppose all partial corporations (those badges of slavery) abolished, and consider the whole island as one corporation, divided into counties or cities, for the purposes of embodying and exercising militia, &c. and for electing representatives, subdivided into districts or townships, as nearly as convenient, in equal proportion to the number of inhabitants.

17. Allow to each district or township one representative, and let it be subdivided into parishes, and every man entitled to a vote be registered in the parish in which he resides. Large parishes may be subdivided into wards or hamlets.

18. Let every voter give his vote in the parish in which he resides; let the votes be brought in writing, and called for in succession, either alphabetically, by the names of the voters, or numerically, by the wards and numbers of houses;—either of these methods would prevent that source of riot, the practice of voting in party groups.

19. The truth of entry of every individual vote in each parish would easily be examined, and the totals of the several parishes in each district so easily collected, that we scruple not to assert, a general election might be decided, with indisputable certainty, in twelve hours.

20. In saying the whole island should be considered as one corporation, we do not wish to be understood as recommending that districts should chuse their representatives from distant parts. On the contrary, we think the representative should

always be a resident of the district, as his character would be better known to his constituents. Hearsay characters are seldom any other than the blazonings of faction.

21. It is indispensable to good government, that representatives should be paid for their service to the public. The want of open and honourable reward retards the exertion of laudable characters, and subjects the nation to the fraudulent and delusive practices of mock patriots.

22. To those who are convinced of the propriety of the foregoing ideas, and only ask, how shall we attain the practice of them? We answer, *associate*. By so doing you will better correct and strengthen each others' opinions on the subject of liberty, and eventually abash the tools of corrupt influence and lawless power. Effects which are not to be expected from the vague and desultory exertion of individual opinions.

Having thus stated what we conceive to be the sentiments of the society, we recommend, that the members shall meet in divisions, consisting, as nearly as convenient, of thirty members each; and that the management of its affairs be vested in one COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES, one SELECT COMMITTEE, and one COUNCIL, subject to REFERENCE TO THE DIVISIONS and TRIAL BY JURY, as more particularly defined in the following sections.

SECTION I.—*Form of Admission and Duty of a Member.*

1. Each candidate for admission into this society shall be proposed by a member, who shall either belong to the division in which the proposal is made, or be personally known as a member of this society to two members of such division.

2. The secretary shall enter the name, residence, and occupation of the candidate, together with the proposer's name and number in the minute book of the division, and the president shall put the following question to the proposer:

Are you well acquainted with the candidate you propose, with his means of life, and his political principles, and are you well assured that his general character is such as will not be disgraceful to this society?

3. If the proposer shall answer the foregoing question in the affirmative, the president shall demand of the division, whether any member has any objection to the candidate.

4. If no objection satisfactory to the division shall be made, the president shall put the following questions to the candidate:

Are you convinced, that every man who has attained to years of discretion, is in possession of his reason, and not disqualified by crimes, ought to have a vote for a representative, and not more than one vote?

Are you convinced, that the representation ought to be divided as nearly as possible in proportion to the number of electors?

Are you convinced that the election of representatives of the people ought to be annul?

Will you by all justifiable means endeavour to promote a reform in the Parliament of this country, agreeable to the principles which you have now professed?

5. The candidate having answered the foregoing questions in the affirmative, shall be declared a member, and shall receive a ticket, on which shall be indorsed his name, and the time to which his contribution is paid; and another ticket, on which shall be written in large figures the number of his division; and beneath that, his own number in the division.

6. It shall be at his option to wear the latter ticket in a visible situation in any meeting of this society; and it is particularly adviseable that he should wear it in general meetings, and keep with the members of his own division.

7. Every member shall pay 6d. at the meeting of his division, next before the first Thursday in each calendar month, or after that rate for so long as he shall think proper to renew his ticket, to defray the expences of this society, and of the room in which his division meets.

8. The last article shall not preclude any member from furnishing a larger contribution, as he may judge proper, either periodically or occasionally; but such extra contribution shall not give the member any additional power.

9. It is the duty of every member to study concord, and for that purpose to moderate his own passions, particularly his personal attachments and aversions.

10. To make himself well acquainted with the principles, constitution and laws of this society, and to circulate a knowledge of the same to the utmost of his ability.

11. To attend his own division as constantly as possible, and particularly on the meeting next before the first Thursday in each calendar month.

12. During the discussion of any question, it is the duty of every member to give a close and candid attention to the opinions which are given on it, and also to give his own opinion freely, unless it shall correspond exactly with one already given.

13. In giving his vote, which is the declaration of his final opinion, he ought to be guided solely by his own conviction, totally disregarding the chance of his being in a minority or majority, even though he should stand alone.

14. When decision is taken by a shew of hands, every member shall give his voice silently, by shewing one hand: the practice of shewing both hands, or of calling all! all! or other such exclamations, are tumultuous, indecent, and utterly unwarrantable.

15. In case his division shall be dispersed by persecution, he shall use every endeavour to rally the members of it; but if

unsuccessful in this attempt, he may then join any division which may persevere in meeting.

16. To habituate himself, both in and out of this society, to an orderly and amicable manner of reasoning, but especially to observe the following rules of

O R D E R.

1. That no member ought to be interrupted while speaking, unless for the purpose of calling him to order.

2. All noise is interruption, whether intended to express applause or censure; approbation may be expressed by holding up a hand.

3. To attribute the conduct or opinion of any member to factious combination, or other improper motive, is disorderly; as are also all invectives and declamatory remarks.

4. The foregoing is not intended to curtail the power of accusation, agreeably to the XIth section of this constitution, but only that such accusation shall not interfere with any other question.

5. No member shall be allowed to speak longer than ten minutes at one time, nor more than twice to one question, except to explain or retract.

6. No member shall be allowed to stile himself, or any other, by any party name, whether intended to convey respect or disrespect.

7. All political appellations, which do not in their immediate interpretation convey an idea of political sentiment or situation, are party names. The following do not fall under this objection, as will appear by their explanations.

Republican—One who wishes to promote the general welfare of his country.

Democrat—A supporter of the rights and power of the people.

Aristocrat—One who wishes to promote the interest of a few at the expence of many.

Royalist—Among the ignorant part of mankind, signifies a person attached to regal government: among artful courtiers it is a veil for their own aristocracy.

Loyalist—A supporter of the constitution of his country.

Citizen—The ancient appellation given to the members of free states.

Subject—can only, with propriety, be applied to a member of a state, whose government has been instituted by foreign conquest, or the prevalence of a domestic faction.

17. Persons attempting to trespass on order, under pretence of shewing zeal, courage, or any other motive, are to be suspected. A noisy disposition is seldom a sign of courage; and extreme zeal is often a cloak of treachery.

SECTION II.—The Organization and Power of a Division.

1. Each division shall meet once in a week, on any evening in the week except Thursday and Sunday.

2. The hour and place of meeting shall be at the convenience of each division, but must be announced to the constituted bodies.

3. Each division shall elect, from its own members, a president, vice president, secretary, assistant secretary, delegate, and sub-delegate.

4. Each division shall be furnished with three books, (viz.) one to bear the number of the division; a similar book, to be called the supernumerary book of the same division; and a third, for entering minutes.

5. No division book shall contain more than 30 effective names; subject to variation as here-after mentioned.

6. Members admitted after the division shall amount to 30, shall be entered in the supernumerary book, but not before.

7. As soon as the members entered in the supernumerary book, shall amount to 16, they shall be entitled to a number as a new division; they shall determine the time and place of their future meeting; they shall receive a supernumerary book, and a minute book, and a new supernumerary book shall be delivered to the original division.

8. Members entered in any supernumerary book while less than 16, shall be entitled to vote, and in every respect be considered as members of the division to which such supernumerary book shall belong.

9. No new member shall have a vote the same sitting in which he is admitted; nor transferred member the same sitting in which he is transferred.

10. Each division shall be allowed one shilling and six pence per week, for rent, furniture, &c.

11. Every member shall have liberty to introduce one stranger, provided such member shall answer that the sentiments of the stranger are similar to ours; and the same stranger shall not be introduced more than twice, except for the purpose of admission as a member.

12. If two or more divisions shall agree to meet at the same time and place, the following rules shall be observed:

13. One supernumerary book shall serve the whole meeting, which shall be kept by the secretary of the oldest division present.

14. No new member shall be entered in the supernumerary book, while any division present is short of 30 members.

15. One president and vice president shall serve the whole meeting.

16. Each division alternately shall elect, from its own members, the president and vice president; and the assistant secretary of each division, alternately, shall act as doorkeeper.

17. They shall not intermix their elections of delegates or sub-delegates, secretaries or assistant secretaries, nor the reports of their opinions on referred questions.

18. Members entered in the supernumerary book shall be entitled to vote, and in every respect considered as members of the oldest division present.

19. In all elections, and decisions of referred questions, the president shall take the decision of the oldest division first.

20. The Term oldest division is not meant to convey any idea of precedency; it is to be understood, that division which shall bear the smallest number, though it may have been formed later than one bearing a greater.

21. The Delegates and secretaries of Divisions so meeting, shall not sit together, but dispersed as nearly as convenient at equal distances.

22. Over the seat of the President in each meeting of this society, shall be suspended a label with these words, BEWARE OF ORATORS.

23. In case of persecution, and that the means provided by the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth sections of this constitution, should not produce the effect of re-establishing a representative body of this society for two weeks successively, every division shall have power to elect four persons, whose powers shall be the same as the four officers of the committee of delegates.

24. The sole object of those four persons, shall be the re-establishment of the representative body, and they shall report progress weekly, and be weekly subject to revocation.

25. If two or more divisions shall make the above-mentioned election at the same time, the persons so chosen shall act in conjunction.

SECTION III.—*Mode of Election.*

1. The ordinary election of delegate and sub-delegate shall be on the fitting next before the first Thursday in each calendar month, at which fitting no visitor shall be admitted.

2. No member shall be allowed to offer himself as a candidate, nor to propose any other, nor solicit votes for himself or another on pain of expulsion.

3. Every member, except such as have served as delegates for the two precedings months, such as have not been admitted a fortnight, and such as are members of any constituted body, or excused by a previous consent of the division, shall be considered as eligible.

4. On the evening of election, each member shall bring with him a piece of paper, on which shall be written the name of the member whom he wishes to be the delegate, and beneath that the name and number of the voter.

5. Such vote shall be given to the president, without previous communication to any other member.

6. Precisely at nine o'clock, after which no vote shall be received, the president shall read the votes aloud; the secretary shall enter in the minute book the names of all the members nominated, and against each the numbers of the members who have voted for him.

7. The president shall read the secretary's entry aloud, and if no error be discovered in it, shall declare whichever of the nominated persons shall have the greatest number of votes to be the delegate, and the next greatest the sub-delegate.

8. Upon any equality of votes, the decision shall be by lot.

9. The election of secretary and assistant secretary, shall be on the same night, and conducted in the same manner.

10. Every member, except the delegate and sub-delegate, is eligible as secretary or assistant secretary.

11. The election of president and vice-president, may be by open nomination and shew of hands.

SECTION IV.—Duty of President and Vice-President.

1. The preservation of order, though a duty of every member, is particularly so of the president.

2. He shall take especial care to protect any member from interruption while speaking, provided such member shall confine his discourse to the matter in question, and not exceed ten minutes in delivering it.

3. If any member (thinking the president remiss) shall call another to order, that call shall not be repeated by any other member. The president, if aware of the reason of such call, shall give his opinion on the point of order, if not aware of any sufficient reason for the interruption, he shall require the member calling to order to explain his reasons.

4. The general call of silence is the exclusive duty of the president; any other member calling silence is disorderly.

5. If he shall find it convenient he may, previous to putting any question, recapitulate impartially the arguments which have been offered on it; at which time, and not before, he may give his own opinion.

6. He shall take especial care that the members be satisfied, that the monthly account of the principal treasurer contains a receipt for as much money as has been raised in the division or divisions present.

7. Previous to quitting the chair, he shall read the minutes as entered by the secretary, and sign them.

8. If any part of them shall appear to him to be erroneously entered, he shall notice the impropriety in the minute book.

9. He shall, on no account, continue in the chair later than eleven o'clock, P. M.; after that hour the persons present are a private company, and not a division of this society.

10. The vice-president shall be placed in that part of the room which is opposite to the president.

11. His duty is to take care that members shall not be imperfectly acquainted with the business in agitation, in consequence of their being remote from the president, and that they shall not fall into private and disorderly conversation.

SECTION V.—Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

1. The secretary of each division shall also be treasurer of the same. He shall remain in office (misconduct excepted) one month, and be re-eligible.

2. He shall open the business of each meeting, by taking election of a president and vice-president, for which purpose he shall not wait longer than 15 minutes after the appointed time.

3. He shall then give the minutes of the last meeting to the president to be read, including the former president's objections, if any, and they shall then be adjusted.

4. He shall enter in the minute book every motion which shall be made and seconded; also the decision on it, with the numbers of votes both for and against.

5. He shall keep the division and supernumerary-books, and receive the monthly payments.

6. If any member default in payment, he shall give notice of the same, at the first meeting after the first Thursday in each calendar month; and if no other member is willing to call on the defaulter, it shall be his business.

7. After the president he shall sign all resolutions of the division, and all certificates of election.

8. All certificates shall specify the number of votes as given. The word unanimous shall never be used.

9. At the meeting next before the election of delegate, the secretary shall read a list of the names of such members as are ineligible by this constitution; to which shall be added the names of such members as may give reasons satisfactory to the division for wishing to be excused serving that office.

10. If any member shall default in payment for one month successively, without a cause satisfactory to the division be assigned, the secretary shall notice the default opposite to his name in the minute book, and his number shall be given to the next admitted member.

11. If he cannot attend his duty in his division, he shall give notice to the assistant secretary, and send the books to him or to the division.

12. The assistant secretary shall, to the utmost of his power, assist the secretary in his duty, particularly in calling on defaulters.

13. When the secretary is present in a division, the assistant secretary shall act as doorkeeper; the duty of that station is explained by Sect. II. Art. XI,

14. In the absence of the secretary or assistant secretary, the meeting shall appoint another doorkeeper.

15. In case of removal or violent dispersion, it shall be the business of the secretary and assistant secretary to give notice to the members of a new place and time of meeting.

SECTION VI.—Delegate and Sub-delegate.

1. Every individual delegate is the immediate servant of the division which he represents, and his functions cannot be annulled or suspended but by their consent, unless expelled the society by trial of Jury, agreeably to the XIth Section.

2. While a delegate he is not eligible to any other station or office, either by his division or any constituted body.

3. His duty is to attend the meeting of delegates, and assist in the performance of their collective duty, as hereafter described.

4. To attend his own division duty, and faithfully to report proceedings of the committee of delegates.

5. To compare the account of the principal treasurer with that of the treasurer of his own division, and to remark to his division whether they agree or no.

6. On all questions which may occur in the committee of delegates, he shall vote according to the instructions of his constituents.

7. On any question which has not been discussed and decided by his constituents, he shall vote according to his own judgment for the interest of society.

8. If on any question which his constituents have decided, new arguments should arise which he may think likely to change their opinion, he shall have liberty to vote for an adjournment of one week; subject however to the judgment of the division, whether his doubts were real or fictitious.

9. If he cannot attend the meeting of delegates, he shall give notice as early as possible to the sub-delegate.

10. The sub-delegate having received such notice, shall act as delegate.

11. The sub-delegate shall always be admissible in the committee of delegates as a visitor.

12. While present as a visitor he must be silent, but may take notes.

13. The sub-delegate attending the committee before the delegate, though without notice, shall act as delegate for that sitting, whenever the delegate is more than ten minutes later than the appointed time.

14. If the delegate should vacate his seat, the sub-delegate shall succeed him for the remainder of the month, and another sub-delegate shall be chosen.

SECTION VII.—The Committee of Delegates.

1. The committee of delegates is the representative and legislative body of this society.

2. Their duty is indivisible, and the representation shall not be impaired by any appointment, either of themselves collectively or of any other constituted body, which may subject the members thereof to be absent from their meeting, or to be parties concerned in any subject under their discussion.

3. Not less than three fourths of their whole number shall be a quorum, except in case of persecution.

4. There shall be no disparity or dissimilitude between the members, by officers of presidency or secretaryship.

5. Every committee of delegates shall, on the last Thursday in each calendar month, elect four persons to serve the offices of president, vice president, secretary, and assistant secretary, in the next ensuing committee.

6. Members of the electing committee are eligible as officers of the ensuing, and officers of electing shall be re-eligible.

7. This election is their final act collectively; individually they must report at the ensuing meetings of their constituents, which done, they invariably cease to be delegates, and shall not be re-eligible for two succeeding months.

8. The duty of the four officers above-mentioned, is similar to those bearing the same names in a division; but they shall have no vote in the committee, nor give any opinion, unless requested, except on questions of order.

9. After forming the committee, by receiving and entering their certificates, they shall each be subject to dismissal, if the then present committee should think proper to appoint others.

10. The entries in the minute-book shall be signed at least by two of them, and the minutes of each meeting shall be read in the ensuing meeting, and open to the inspection of every individual delegate.

11. In case of any persecution which may be brought on this society, they shall provide a place for the meeting of delegates, and give notice thereof to as many delegates as possible.

12. Such meeting, not being fewer than one third of the delegates, shall have all the power of a committee of delegates; but shall on no pretence enlarge the term of their delegation.

13. The especial object of such meeting shall be to see that the executive powers are not negligent or dilatory in rallying the dispersed divisions, and renewing a complete representative body.

14. The duty of the committee of delegates, is to direct the conduct of the executive powers, in all matters which do not require secrecy or expedition.

15. To examine the conduct of the executive powers, whether

it be agreeable to their own directions, or the directions of any former committee of delegates.

16. If the executive power shall have done any thing without consent of a committee of delegates, it shall, on discovery, be the business of the then committee of delegates to examine whether the act was proper, and whether the want of such authority was justifiable by the necessity of secrecy or dispatch.

17. Their consent to any thing proposed to be done, or their approbation of any thing which has been done by the executive powers, shall be to the latter a complete justification, except such consent or approbation shall be obtained by misrepresentation of facts.

18. They shall take special notice of the conduct of every individual member, both of the select committee and the council; and if they shall perceive any personal opposition to prevail between any two members of those bodies, they shall take the first opportunity to remove them both, rather than endanger the spreading of discord.

19. For the purpose of electing members of the select committee and special committees, they shall always have a complete list of the names and numbers of the select committee then existing.

20. They may enter in their minute book remarks on the conduct, whether moral or political, of any member of the select committee, or of the council, or any person eligible to those stations.

21. If the executive powers, for the purpose of obtaining their approbation, shall communicate any thing which a majority of the delegates shall approve as necessary to be secretly done, the whole committee of delegates are bound to secrecy.

22. Their election of one third of the council, and of the select committee, shall be conducted in the same manner as the election of a delegate.

SECTION VIII.—*The Select Committee.*

1. Shall not exceed the whole, nor be less than half the number of the committee of delegates.

2. Every individual member of this committee is the servant of the whole society, and not responsible to any particular division.

3. They shall, at their first institution, be numbered by lot, from one to the number of their total.

4. On the last Thursday in each month one third of them shall be put to the vote of the committee of delegates, either to be re-elected or others appointed in their place, viz.

1st. Month, No. 1, 4, 7, 10.	} and so on, adding 3 to the last number.
2d. Ditto, No. 2, 5, 8, 11.	
3d. Ditto, No. 3, 6, 9, 12.	

5. No person shall be eligible who has not been a member of this society three months.

6. No member shall be allowed to change his number.

7. Their appointments of presidency or secretaryship shall be from their own members, and at their own discretion as to permanence.

8. No member of this committee shall be admitted until he has answered in the affirmative the following question, which shall be put by the officers of the committee of delegates :

Do you promise that you will not relinquish the station which you are about to take in this society, on account of any persecution which may be brought on it. That you will persevere in meeting the select committee, and to the utmost of your power encourage every other member of this society to fulfil the duty of his respective station ?

THEIR OFFICE IS,

1. Preparatory, as they may be directed, either collectively, partially, or individually, by the committee of delegates or the council.

2. Referential, as to any matter adopted by the committee of delegates, or the council, or by both, which they may judge improper.

3. All intended publications of this society shall, previous to being printed, undergo their collective examination.

4. One third of their whole number shall be a quorum.

SECTION IX.—The Council

1. Shall be composed of one treasurer, one principal secretary, and not less than four assistant secretaries.

2. They shall be numbered from one to their total, and re-eligible at the same time and in the same manner as the select committee.

3. The treasurer shall, on the last Thursday in each calendar month, give to the committee of delegates a monthly account of the total sum which he shall have received from each division in the course of the instant month.

4. He shall also give to the select committee, at their meeting next before the last Thursday in March, June, September, and December, a quarterly account of all monies received by him on account of this society, and all disbursements.

5. His quarterly account, with the remarks of the select committee, if any, shall be laid before the committee of delegates on the last Thursday in March, June, September, and December, to be by them examined, and reported to the divisions.

6. The principal secretary shall record all laws which shall be made by this society, which shall be printed annually.

7. He shall prepare all miscellaneous correspondence; namely,

all such as does not fall within the department of one or other of the assistant secretaries, and all copies of such correspondence, for the use of the divisions.

8. Each assistant secretary shall have his particular department of correspondence assigned to him.

9. As soon as any letter is received, it shall be the business of the secretary, to whose department it shall belong, to prepare an answer.

10. The draught of the answer shall be first submitted to the select committee.

11. It shall next, with the objections and proposed amendments of the select committee, if any, be laid before the committee of delegates.

12. If the committee of delegates shall think necessary to order any alterations, they shall signify the same in writing, signed by two of their officers.

13. Every member of the council shall be really acquainted with every transaction of this society, however secret.

14. Each member of the council shall have a complete list of the members of every division of this society, with their residences, which list he shall deposit, to the best of his judgment, in a place of safety.

15. Collectively, the councils shall have a power of reference to the divisions, as to any proposal adopted by the committee of delegates, or select committee.

16. It shall be the business of the council to make enquiry for proper places for divisions to meet, and to recommend transfers of members for the purpose of forming new divisions, or strengthening such as may decay.

17. All letters of this society shall be signed at least by two of the council, who shall also sign the copy kept.

18. All letters sent with consent of the delegates and select committee, shall be signed "for the London Corresponding Society." All letters sent without such consent shall be signed "for the Council of the London Corresponding Society."

19. No letter shall be sent without previous consent of the council collectively, and not less than two thirds shall be a quorum.

20. For any special purpose they may require the assistance of any member of this society, not being a delegate or sub-delegate.

SECTION X.—General Articles including References.

1. Every proposal which shall be severally approved by a majority of the delegates, of the select committee, and of the council, shall be adopted and considered as an act of this society, and remain in force as such, until rescinded either by the concurrence of similar majorities or by reference to the divisions.

2. The concurrence of such majorities shall be sufficient to degrade any member of the select committee or of the council, previous to the ordinary period of election ; as shall also a reference to the divisions ; provided always, that the party objected to, shall have full opportunity of exculpating himself.

3. The concurrence of a majority of each of the three constituted bodies, shall be sufficient to alter the Vth article of the IIId section, by making the number of members required to form a division more or less, provided there shall always be a number ascertained, beyond which no member shall be entered in any division book, and provided that the number required for instituting a division, shall always be one more than half the number at which a division shall be accounted full.

4. If it shall appear beneficial to the society, to institute a new division in a place where a sufficient number of members cannot at first be obtained, or to continue an old division which may have decreased below the number required, the constituted bodies shall have power, notwithstanding the deficiency of number, to make the usual allowance for rent, &c. but not longer than three months, unless specially authorized by reference to the divisions ; and provided there shall never be more than one third of the whole number of divisions of this description.

5. Not more than one half of the select committee shall at any time be detached on special committees, either by the council or the delegates.

6. Referred questions shall never be accompanied by deputations ; they shall come in the same form before each division ; namely, a copy of the question, and of such remarks as the parties concerned shall think proper to make on it.

7. The remarks shall be in numbered articles, free from declamation or panegyric.

8. On all questions intended for reference, each of the constituted bodies shall have an opportunity of sending out its remarks ; but for this purpose the whole of them shall not be allowed longer than one week.

9. If a question be referred, at the instance of an individual, he shall provide as many copies of the question, and of his own remarks, as may be necessary to supply all the divisions.

10. Any individual providing such copies, and demanding a reference, shall not be denied.

11. If a question be referred at the instance of a division, or by one or more of the constituted bodies, the copies shall be provided by the respective secretaries.

12. The report on a referred question shall not be required in less than two weeks, from the Thursday on which the copies of question and remarks, complete, shall have been given to the delegates.

13. The delegates having received such copies, shall communicate them in the next meeting of their respective divisions. Each division may then discuss the question, but shall not decide it until the next meeting at soonest.

14. No member shall be allowed to speak on a referred question, except in the division of which he is a member.

15. The expences of all the constituted bodies shall be paid from the general stock.

SECTION XI.—Of Accusation and Trial.

1. If any member shall think another unworthy of being a member of this society, or that he acted in any degree improperly, he shall offer his accusation in writing, signed by himself, in the division of which the accused is a member.

2. Every accusation shall state the law on which it is grounded.

3. If the decision of the division shall be in favour of the accused, the trial shall go no farther; if not, the accuser shall give a statement of the case in writing to the delegate of his own division, to be laid before the committee of delegates.

4. No vote or resolution touching any matter of accusation shall pass in any division, except that of the accused (as mentioned in the last article) nor in any of the constituted bodies.

5. The delegates having received the case, shall elect four persons, not of their own body, nor of the division or divisions concerned, to act as president, secretary, vice president, and assistant secretary in the ensuing trial.

6. They shall also issue notice to each division, except those of which the accuser or accused are members, mentioning the time and place of trial, and the four persons whom they have appointed to superintend it, and requiring each of them to return one jurymen.

7. Each division shall return of its own members one jurymen by lot; but none of the four persons appointed to superintend the trial, nor any member of any constituted body shall be returnable.

8. Every jurymen so drawn, and failing to attend at the appointed time, shall forfeit two shillings and six pence, except in case of sickness; as shall also each superintendant.

9. The superintendants shall, by lot, take twelve names out of the whole number present, who shall be the jury for that trial, unless the accused object, which he may do to four of them, but not more.

10. The accuser and accused shall each be allowed one assistant, at their own choice.

11. The president shall read the accusation, and call on the accuser to produce his evidence.

12. The evidence on the part of the accuser being closed, the accused may call his evidence.

13. During the time each witness is giving his evidence, he may be cross examined by the jury, the president, the accused, the accuser, or either of their assistants.

14. The evidence being closed, the accused and his assistant shall be allowed to comment on it, and make his defence ; but the cross examination shall be deemed sufficient on the part of the accuser.

15. If the president shall think proper, he may recapitulate the principal points of the evidence, and comment on them.

16. The jury shall give their verdict in writing, signed by all their names.

17. If the jury shall not within two hours, agree that the accused is guilty, he shall be acquitted.

18. The issue of the trial shall be reported to the committee of delegates, and by them to the divisions.

APPENDIX, (No. 3.)

Letter for introducing Citizens Binns and John Gale Jones ; dated Committee Room, March, 1796 ; and signed J. Ashley, Secretary.

Citizens,

Committee Room, March, 1796.

THIS letter is to introduce citizens Binns and John Gale Jones to you, they being deputed by us to visit your society. They will lay before you the instructions we have given them for their conduct, by which you will see the principal parts of our view of the common object which unites us to you and the other societies in the country. We hope they accord with your sentiments, for we are persuaded that nothing is wanting to obtain such a reform in Parliament as we demand, but a strict union among those who are already convinced of its necessity. We are not, however, to condemn or neglect those whose interests, whose passions, or whose ignorance, have set them in opposition to us. For the latter, those who are separated from us only by their positive ignorance, we shall gain them daily to our side by a clear statement of our claims. The proposition we maintain is so simple, that no one can reject it who possesses even an ordinary share of understanding. The political creeds which people are taught during their childhood frequently warp their minds ; but in Britain, the first article of the political creed is, that every individual who is subject to Government is represented, and has a right to be represented in the Legislature. We assert no more than that the practice does not at present correspond with the theory, and we claim no more than the restitution of these our rights ; and it is this fact of which we have to convince the ignorant ; for those who have partial interests and passions to gratify in the continuance of abuse, we must contend with them firmly. If we can soften their opposition, it is our duty ; and if we cannot, on their own heads be the

guilt and the effect. Citizens, let us redouble our zeal. Indifference in any cause belonging to humanity is base, in this it is nothing less than insanity. We recommend our deputies to your confidence, for we believe they are worthy of it.

Signed,
By Order of the Executive Committee,
J. Ashley, Sec.

APPENDIX (No. 4.)

Instructions of the London Corresponding Society to Citizen John Gale Jones, deputed to visit the Societies of Birmingham, &c.
Citizen,

THIS society having resolved that deputies be sent to the several societies in correspondence with us, in order to inform them accurately of the present state of the important question agitated by them and us, and to consult with them on the most effectual means of convincing the people of this country of the necessity of a reform in the Commons House of Parliament, we have chosen you to be among the number of such deputies, having a firm confidence that you will conduct yourself so as to bring no just reproach upon us your constituents. To acquit ourselves, however, before the whole nation in this momentous concern, as well as the better to enable you to prosecute our legal and virtuous purpose, we furnish you with the following instructions :

1st. On your admission to a society in union with us, you shall deliver the letter of introduction given you herewith, and submit these instructions to their perusal, in order that no improper person, being either an ignorant advocate of our cause, or a base pretender of, for mischievous purposes may intrude himself upon such society in our name.

2dly. You shall precisely state to the society, that the sole object of our association is a reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

3dly. You shall insist that the only effectual, as well as only legitimate mode of obtaining our common object, is by convincing our fellow citizens of our natural and constitutional right to such reform, and of the necessity of our obtaining it, to preserve the nation from falling under the yoke of an absolute despotism ; in so doing you cannot fail to draw the nation over to our side, and to leave the enemies of reform narrowed to the circle of corrupt ministers, and their rapacious dependants.

4thly. You shall shew that the new treason and seditious acts, whatever be the character that will be stamped upon them by posterity, have not taken away the means of enlightening our fellow citizens on the above subject, since under these acts citizens may assemble to the number of forty-nine in one

place, to converse in an orderly manner on their constitutional rights, and therefore cannot be disturbed without a violation of law even as it stands at present.

5thly. As the subtle malice of our enemies will endeavour to lead our fellow citizens from the peaceable course which it yet becomes us to pursue, you shall invite the society to guard against all persons who would introduce violent propositions, or any illegal measures.

6thly. It behoves you notwithstanding to convince the timid, that no fears are to be entertained respecting the legal consequences of the information of spies, since the security of the friends of reform is in the legality of their object and proceedings.

7thly. The design of the above articles is to remove misapprehensions relative to the safety of our association under the new laws. This part of your mission being effected, you are to strain every power of your mind to awaken the sleeping spirit of liberty: you are to call upon our fellow citizens to be ready with us to pursue our common object, if it must be to the scaffold, or rather (if our enemies are desperate enough to bar up every avenue to enquiry and discussion) to the field, at the hazard of extermination, convinced that no temper, less decided than this, will suffice to regain liberty from a bold usurping faction; but to the end that we may succeed by the irresistible voice of the people, you are to excite in every society the desire which animates our bosoms to embrace the nation as brethren, and the resolution to bear every repulse from passion and prejudice which fails to deprive us of the sure grounds of argument.

8thly. As the Wig Club have called upon the people to associate for the repeal of the new treason and sedition bills, without making any explicit declaration of their principles, we recommend you to caution the society you visit, against every attempt to divert their thoughts from our ultimate object to such temporary and subordinate considerations.

9thly. You shall, if called upon, aid the society with your advice in forming their internal regulations, but by no means shall attempt to impose any rule upon them, much less to intrude the particular parts of our constitution, where local considerations may make it prudent to adopt others.

10thly. You shall invite the society to a close correspondence with us, and to transmit to us a monthly report, containing their numbers, and a concise account of their leading transactions.

11thly. You shall invite the society to take the name of the United Corresponding Society of Birmingham, and to adopt our regulations as far as may be consistent with their particular convenience or situation.

12thly. This society being involved in great expences, and

being in actual arrear, you shall in an open and manly manner invite the society to contribute to the expence of the deputation according to their ability, and to transmit their contributions through your hands to our secretary.

13thly. You shall write to us immediately after your first interview with the society, and at least once a week afterwards, and if any thing should occur to which these instructions do not apply, you shall write to us speedily on the subject. In a word, you are always to reflect, that you are wrestling with the enemies of the human race, not for yourself merely, for you may not see the full day of liberty, but for the child hanging at the breast; and that the question whether the next generation shall be free or not, may greatly depend on the wisdom and integrity of your conduct in the generous mission which you and your fellow deputies now take upon yourselves.

14thly. The society of Birmingham, &c. being numerous, you shall concert measures with the secretary for convening the members in divisions, consisting of forty-nine each; and you shall on no account meet more than forty-nine members at one time.

15thly. As our letters have been frequently intercepted by our enemies, before your departure from London you shall learn of the Citizen Secretary the place to which you shall direct your letters, and shall establish with the society a proper channel for corresponding with us.

16thly. You shall keep a journal of your proceedings in the discharge of this duty, and shall present the same to this committee on your return.

Citizens,

While you recommend a legal conduct to the society, we solemnly call upon you to be yourself the example of sobriety in conversation and manners.

By order of the Executive Committee,

John Ashley, Sec.

APPENDIX, (No. 5.)

Copy of Hand Bill distributed by Henry Fellows, at Maidstone.

To the British Army.

COMRADES, are we not men? Is it not high time we should prove we know ourselves to be such? Are we any where respected as men, and why are we not? Have not wrong notions of discipline led us to our present despised conditions? Is there a man among us who does not wish to defend his country, and who would not willingly do it without being subject to the insolence and cruelty of effeminate puppies? Were not the sailors like us mocked for want of thought, though not so

much despised for poverty as we are? Have they not proved that they can think and act for themselves, and preserve every useful point of discipline full as well or better than when under the tyranny of their officers? What makes this difference between a commissioned officer and a private or non-commissioned? Are they better men? You must laugh at the thought? Do they know discipline half so well as our serjeants? Don't they owe their promotions to their connections with placemen and pensioners, and a mock parliament which pretends to represent the people? When we think of the people, ought not each of us to think of a father or a brother as part of them? Can you think a parliament speaking like fatliers and brothers would treat us as we are treated? Would they mock us with a pretended addition to our pay, and then lock us up in barracks to cheat us and keep us in ignorance? Would they not rather, considering the price of every thing wanting for our families, at least double our pay? Why is every regiment harassed with long marches from one end of the country to the other, but to keep them strangers to the people, and to each other? Are we so well cloathed as soldiers used to be? Ask the old pensioners of Chelsea College, whether horse or foot? Ask them too if it was usual, when there were fewer regiments, for colonels to make a profit out of soldiers cloaths? Don't colonels now draw half their income from what we ought to have, but of which we are robbed? THESE COMRADES, are a few of our grievances, and but a few. WHAT SHALL WE DO? The tyranny of what is falsely called discipline prevents us from acting like other men. We cannot join in a petition for that which common honesty would freely have given us long ago. WE HAVE ONLY TWO CHOICES; either to submit to the present impositions, or demand the treatment proper for men. THE POWER IS ALL OUR OWN. The regiments which send you this are willing to do their part: they will shew their countrymen they can be soldiers without being slaves, and will make their demands as soon as they know you will not draw the trigger against them. Of this we will judge, when we know you have distributed this bill not only among your comrades, but to every soldier whom you know in every part of the country. BE SOBER, BE READY.

APPENDIX, (No. 6.)

Copy of Letter taken amongst John Bone's Papers.

[Direction obliterated.]

Citizen,

I received your parcel with the regulations, &c. and am obliged to you for sending the Ulster address, as I think it will be productive to our cause, for they seem to meet the approba-

tion of the Cit^{ns} here, particularly the Irish soldiers in this town. I have disposed of them all, and shall be glad of 100 more, with 50 Boniparte's address, and 50 Duke of Richmond's letter, with some tickets, and charge the publications to me, and I will see you paid or return them, but I will do my endeavours to sell them. Citⁿ, I mentioned in my last week's report for you to charge regulations, tickets, and mag^{ns} to the Maidstone Society, but you have put them in Wratten's bill, w^{ich} I requested you to send to get the money for; likewise the society's bill, w^{ich} I hope will be able to do next week. Citⁿ, with respect to Payne's Agrarian Justice, it met the approbation of those I have conversed with about it, and think it does win them to our cause. You may send 50 of them if you please, and I will dispose of them if I can, or send them back. With respect to the 7 dozen of magⁿ, I forgot to mention in the last week's, but it is a mistake in Beck's letter, for we do not want any, for they do not go of here, that is the reason we send 7 dozen back.

Report of the Divisions :

Divⁿ 39.—20 present: no new members.

Divⁿ 38.—40 present: do.

The refer^d motion in the report, negative.

P. S. Direct in future to H. Fellows, at Mr. Bennet's Stone St, and not as before, for they will not come to hand if you do.

Nothing particular since our last. With respect to other div^{ns}, we have not been able to furnish them with tickets, &c. but you shall here when we do.

Maidstone,
Monday night.

Health and fraternity.

H. Fellows.

APPENDIX, (No. 7.)

*Copy of Papers found upon Richard Fuller, for the Seduction of the
Soldiery.*

No. 1.—Soldiers of Great Britain

Brothers, and Fellow Citizens,

WE the people of Great Britain, your friends, your countrymen, and your fellow creatures, desire you for one minute to lay aside the bayonet and the musquet, and to behave like men. Sheathe the sword of murder! Cease to be the assassins of your kind! Embrace us as your brethren! and let the tranquillity of reason succeed the hurricane of war!

We require you to consider us as your friends, and then you will listen with attention. Our country is bleeding at every pore!

Already scourged by the furies of ambition, The faints with the anguish, and shrinks with horror, lest the uplifted lash of y-ranny should fall into a wound already lacerated to the bone. Our provisions have been transported to foreign countries, and our husbandmen have been seduced from the plough, to be beaten by their officers, and starve beneath a knapsack. Where the cottage once welcomed the free peasant to his evening's rest, the barrack now imprisons the hungry victim of military law. Our bravest heroes languish beneath the scourge, are tortured by the iron which pierces the tender foot, and shot like dogs, to satiate the cruelty of their masters. The freedom of nature is drilled into slavery by torture and oppression, and the military tyrants of the day erect their infamous court martials upon the life and felicity of man.

Come then ; you as well as the people have your sufferings, and we are all brothers in distress ! Why should we increase our miseries by becoming foes ? We are all men ! We all have feeling ! We all have a country ! Alas ! why should those be hostile to each other, whose nature, country, and misfortunes are the same. Nature and necessity call upon us to enlist under the same banner of liberty, and to enrol ourselves as comrades in the grand contest for reform.

It is the practice of tyrants to separate you from your brothers and your country, to lock you up in barracks from our conversation, and to point your bayonets at our bosoms as though we were your foes. Let this auspicious age be the last in which military laws shall sever man from man, and make the soldier the murderer rather than the protector of his country. Let us shake hands, and the union will be the origin of liberty, and liberty will give the soldier a home, where a friend and a family shall succeed to a barrack and a tyrant. You have six pence per day for cloaths, food, and expences ; and out of this you are to find all things necessary for the existence of man ; you have nothing of your own ; even the common heritage of nature, personal liberty, is not yours ; you are tied up like dogs ; the lash sharpened with cruel knots lays bare your very bones ; the spike runs through the sole of your foot, makes the suspended wretch writhe and howl with agony. These are the rewards of your loyalty ! and these the blessings which attend the service of a K—— !!! Let not the dignity of the man, or the honor of the soldier, be starved like a beast, or whipt like a slave ; exercise your reason ; put on the uniform of liberty ; make use alone of the arms of justice, and let the soldier be united to the man !

The years of freedom approach—the halcyon epoch of liberty draws near—philosophy erects the standard of happiness, and the nations of the earth unite beneath its shade. Nature is preparing a feast upon the ruins of tyranny, and invites all the universe to partake of the banquet. Will you, soldiers, refuse

her gifts, and turn ungrateful from the feast? Will you desert the colours beneath which your brethren unanimously unite, and mutiny against the dictates of your hearts? Is it your duty to obey your ———, or yourself? Consult your own feelings, and do not violate the oath which truth imprints upon the heart—unite with the oppressed against the oppressor, and terminate the year of oppression. Whether you shoot your fellow creatures under the impulse of private resentment, or whether you obey the nod of a tyrant, and massacre us by thousands, the guilt is the same; you are convicted of murder! and nature herself accuses you at the bar of social justice, Be murderers no longer—follow no more the starving practices of military assassins—let soldiers protect the rights of citizens, and citizens will avenge the wrongs of soldiers.

In short, if you wish to sag and labour your lives away without comfort, to linger in a half-starved existence, the slaves of cruelty and engines of murder and oppression—If you wish, when old age has stolen away your strength, to have your tottering limbs want a bed to repose on, and to be whipt from parish to parish as a vagrant, then kiss the hand that scourges you, and be the means of enslaving the country that has nursed you in its bosom; but if you wish to enjoy the blessings of life and liberty, to have a competency prepared for your age in return for the labours of your youth—if you have the least regard for mankind or yourselves, make your muskets the means of peace, and your swords the just defence of your country's liberty.

No. 2.

WHEREAS

It is notorious, that certain wicked and malicious persons, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being moved and instigated by the Devil, have from time immemorial infested, and do still infest the greatest part of the world, to the utter subversion of the

RIGHTS OF MAN,

and the total overthrow of civil and religious liberty, and instead of those glorious blessings, introducing, wherever they have prevailed, an infernal system of terror, slavery, and oppression, with all their attendant evils of poverty and famine, of fraud, robbery, murder, and suicide, likewise hastening and augmenting every other misery incident to human nature. To put in force the above system, and give the fullest effect to the evils inseparable from it, they have frequent recourse to enormous taxation, armies of ignorant and unprincipled savages, bribery and corruption, places and pensions, axes and gibbets, bastiles and banishment, spies and informers, with a cruel and rigorous suppression of every attempt to diffuse instruction, and cherish

the dawnings of reason; to enlighten the people, and rouse them to a sense of their importance and their rights; likewise with additional cruelty employing a band of mercenary priests (called national clergy) to rivet the fetters of ignorance, by inculcating among other superstitions the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, and pronouncing eternal damnation on disobedience to the sanguinary mandates of

TYRANTS.

And whereas it is notorious that this banditti arrogate to themselves titles which the light of nature, and that divine philanthropist, the illustrious founder of the christian religion, declare can only be applied without blasphemy to the Deity himself, who alone is the most high and mighty Prince, most puissant Prince, dread Sovereign, most sacred, most excellent, and most gracious Majesty. Likewise adding folly and absurdity to their daring impiety, they are passionately fond of being called by a variety of nicknames, and are often mad to distraction for childish playthings, which they imagine give dignity to their odious persons, and excite wonder and awe in the minds of the ignorant.

Another trait of their character is their unbearable insolence to their supposed inferiors, demanding honours which in reality belong to no created being (much less to the vilest monsters ever created) and requiring the most abject submission to their tyrannical pleasure. Likewise continually insulting the people with a profession of scornful and humiliating epithets, such as subjects, slaves, mobs, swinish multitude, vulgar rabble, base wretches, raggamuffins, sans-culottes, acquitted felons, &c. &c.

Likewise wasting many precious lives, and much property of the people, to import luxuries from every clime for the gratification of their depraved appetites, while the above "swinish multitude" are cruelly denied a little clean straw and a few wholesome acorns.

Again, the disposition of these incarnate fiends is manifest in a horrid thirst for blood and delight in slaughter. Peace and tranquillity they view with stedfast hate, and banish from their courts with oaths of eternal separation. The sights which afford them the greatest pleasure and satisfaction are the dreadful glare of murderous steel, blazing towns, and fields covered with slain, rivers of sm king crimson, and the once smiling garden of plenty exhibiting scenes of desolation and famine.

Their greedy ear drinks in like harmonious music the hostile roaring of the brazen trumpet, the impatient clashing of the instruments of death, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of widows, and the cries of orphans. *Hence it ceases to astonish us when we hear of plundering terrestrial Paradises, of exterminating their millions of inoffensive inhabitants, and re-peopling with other millions torn from their native shores. Hence we hear of the murder*

of thirty thousand men in cold blood; at another time, twenty-seven thousand five hundred men, and three thousand women and children of a brave and virtuous people, falling beneath the sword of a sacred and sainted Empress. And hence we have heard from a Tyrant more sanguinary still, of starving twenty-five millions struggling for liberty.

PRODIGIOUS NAMELESS WICKEDNESS !!!

These are your Gods ! Ye advocates for K——s.

Fellow Citizens,

Do not your bosoms swell with indignation ? Are you not resolved to crush these serpents, and rid yourselves and mankind for ever of the worst of plagues ? Let them exhibit the glittering magic of their usurped authority ; let them threaten to crush us with their frown ; let them plead their divine hereditary right, and issue their pompous proclamations. Alas ! how vain ! how weak and imbecile, when opposed to a nation brave and unanimous, that wills to be free.

FELLOW CITIZENS ! BRETHREN !

We hail you with Vows of Health and Fraternity !

UNITE ! PERSEVERE ! AND BE FREE !

APPENDIX, (No. 8.)

Address from United Britons to United Irishmen.

Fellow Men,

ANXIOUS to dissipate those prejudices which a mistaken and interested policy of opinion, from being held by the people of England and Ireland, we in the name of the former, with whose sentiments we are acquainted, and whose confidence we possess, declare that we will, by every possible means, promote the emancipation of both countries. To forward this great object we offer you our confidence, and in return demand yours.

Though labouring under the yoke of the same oppression, the sister countries have been differently treated. Ireland has always been the object of direct and open violence, England of fraud : Ireland has been robbed, England has been cheated. By one uniform plan division has been carried on in both. Sacrificed as Ireland has been to the ambition of England, the idea of her being treated as a free country was too gross to be obtruded upon the meanest understanding. But England, whose avarice was flattered by the despicable lure of exclusive trade, greedily swallowed the bait. She was taught to believe that riches flowed upon her, while poverty was secretly insinuating itself

into her vitals. Amidst mock contentions for liberty, and real ones for plunder, she vainly imagined herself free, and was thereby induced to pay the interest of a debt of greater amount than the value of the whole landed property of the country, without reflecting that bankruptcy, however late, must be the consequence of an overstretched credit. That bankruptcy has arrived. The religious dissensions between catholic and protestant in Ireland, whose opinions admit of a real distinction, and the party squabbles between whig and tory in England, whose political ones admit of none, were assiduously fomented. The people differed about a shadow till they lost the substance. The plan of oppression was systematically directed throughout both countries to the same object, though in apparent opposition. In Ireland, revenue was only raised to be lavished in unmerited pensions, without the insult of pretended national advantage. In England, the veil of fraud was necessary to cheat the people of large sums under the plausible pretext of public necessity. The undisguised oppressions of Ireland, by rendering subsistence precarious to the poor, have made her a constant hot-bed for the subtleties of tyranny; but in England, occasional crops could only be raised, when the flame of war unusually force the soil. This marked distinction in the treatment of the countries has produced as marked a difference in the characters of the two nations. Ireland has acquired that of manly openness, England that of mean disguise. England, though abused with forms, has never been without sincere friends to substantial liberty. Among them a number of dark and designing characters have always intended, and their conduct has furnished such a tissue of apostacy, that general apathy had nearly succeeded general distrust. Various political societies have been instituted for the purpose of reform, but of those few could boast purity of principles or integrity of leaders. Formerly Richmond headed the votaries of universal suffrage, Fox those of representation by householders, and Pitt those who wished to disfranchise the corrupt boroughs, to throw their proportion of representation into the counties: But these have vanished. The society of the friends of the people, and for constitutional knowledge have discontinued their exertions. The London Corresponding and other Societies in union with it have arisen upon their ruins, and as universal good is the basis, we doubt not, but supported by numbers and principles, they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.

The Irish, always an heroic people, have during the American war, become an armed nation. They took up arms for defence and undertook the cause of reform for security. England likewise engaged in the cause of reform, but her efforts were weak, as she had not endured sufficient to convince her of the necessity of union. The efforts of a number of eminent persons in both coun-

tries, in the cause of freedom, were insufficient, because prejudice yet prevailed, and more were not yet awakened to their just rights and true interests. The apostacy of several leaders in the public cause, added to the famous coalition, smothered for a long time the flame of liberty, till the French revolution again fanned its dying embers into a glow, which we hope and trust will never be extinguished.

The conduct of the two countries on this important event displayed a striking contrast. Ireland, who by her arms had extorted from the English government some fragments of her rights, seemed ready in the same manner to demand the rest. England also formed societies whose object was emancipation; but alas! they over-rated its force.

The bills in Ireland, the treason and sedition bills in England, and their consequences in both countries, need hardly be mentioned. On the people they brought chains, on the government irreconcilable hatred. One good effect has however resulted from mutual sufferings and mutual commiseration; the prejudice of nations is done away, and the English burn with desire to hail the Irish as freemen and as brethren.

Our numbers are immense, our influence still more considerable, and our sentiments accord with yours; we are unthinned by the tyranny of the law or the sword; 'tis true we have had our fears and our jealousies; spies and informers have been introduced amongst us; but all those have served only to point out more clearly the men who are worthy of trust, and in these, whether rich or poor, we have the highest confidence.

Our delegate is intrusted to lay before you our whole proceedings; we therefore decline entering into particulars in the present address. We have reposed confidence in you, and shall expect such a return as you may think our integrity and talents deserve. We doubt not but you will, with us, see the propriety of establishing unlimited confidence, or declining our interference as fruitless. Should you think our situation, our influence, and our opportunities calculated to serve the common cause, rely upon our diligence, zeal, and our fidelity. With best wishes for the amelioration of the condition of man, and hopes that your exertions and virtues, aided by an united people, will speedily emancipate your country, we remain, in the bonds of brotherhood and union,

Your's fraternally,

Friday, January 5th, 1798.

(Seal)

APPENDIX, (No. 9.)

Address of the London Corresponding Society to the Irish Nation.

“ What are fifty, nay a thousand slaves

“ To the nerve of a single arm

“ That strikes for liberty.

Brave and Suffering Nation,

THE London Corresponding Society, animated by the desire of promoting universal liberty, and alive to the general interests of humanity, have beheld with inexpressible regret the enormous cruelties which have with impunity been practised in every corner of your devoted country. Jealous of the honour of the community of which we are members, and feeling for the dignity of the British character, we deem it our duty to address and assure you, whatever atrocities may have been committed by misguided men, or however the sentiments of the people of this country may have been represented by interested ones, there are few in Britain who do not shudder with horror at a recital of the sufferings of the Irish people.

Did we read that in any foreign country, or at any remote period of antiquity, the governors of a populous and civilized kingdom had laid waste with fire and sword large tracts of land, had murdered the innocent traveller on the road, had turned women in the agonies of childbirth naked into the fields at midnight, there to behold with additional pangs their little all consumed by the flames which persecution had kindled, and their dearest relatives murdered by sanguinary malice, whilst others were tortured at the will of a *licensed* banditti; did we read of *all* those cruelties, and that they were exercised *not* upon *rebels*, but under the *pretext* of *preventing rebellion*, we should shut the book with horror, and execrate the guilty perpetrators as monsters for whose atrocities language had not a name. Yet much do we fear, that when the historian of Ireland shall pen the history of the present times, he will, in obedience to truth, be necessitated to *stain* its pages with crimes *equal* to any we have conjectured. Has not popular privilege upon all occasions been obliged to bow the obedient head, and bend the suppliant knee, to the imperious behests of prerogative? Has not every barrier between privilege and prerogative been overthrown by power, or overwhelmed by corruption? Have not thy laws been perverted? thy penal statutes extended to acts to which *justice* cannot attach *criminality*? Have not juries been packed, threatened, and intoxicated! Have not judges received, and caused to be executed, verdicts where malice and prejudice have been proved? Have not witnesses been permitted to give evidence, whose perjuries were open and manifest? In fine, has not justice and the *forms* of justice, nay *even* decency, been disregarded? And why has all this inhumanity, this savage barbarity, been committed. “ Because,” say your Governors, “ some men formed societies,

calling themselves UNITED IRISHMEN, who swore in the most solemn manner *to persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, for the purpose of effecting reforms which we do not think expedient.*"

These are the crimes of which you are accused, and to support these accusations, fire, torture, and death are to ravage the once peaceful plains of Ireland.

If to wish for that happy UNION of mankind, when their *religious* opinions shall be no obstacle to the performance of their *moral* duties, be criminal, WE also are guilty; and if to UNITE in the *cause of reform* upon the *broadest basis* be treason, WE with YOU are traitors.

We cannot (thanks to our more enlightened English juries) pursue the analogy further. For though hireling spies and informers have attempted the lives of some of our members, their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the virtuous integrity of those to whom their country had entrusted their condemnation or acquittal.

Your injuries have made a deep impression upon our minds, from a consideration that as our fellow men in Ireland live under the same FORM of government, and are in FACT governed by the *same* men, we entertain the well grounded fear that what HAS been done in Ireland MAY be done in Britain. This we are confirmed in when we compare the *systematic* exactness between the measures FORMERLY pursued in Ireland, and those now pursuing in Great Britain. Among you, religious dissensions have been fomented; among us, the seeds of distrust have been scattered. But as is commonly the fate of bad men, their measures have recoiled upon themselves; they have strengthened the bond of UNION among you, till "*neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments shall ever induce*" you to forego it, and they have enabled us so clearly to discern the *genuine* friends of liberty, that no finess, no glitter of counterfeit patriotism, can dazzle our eyes or mislead our judgment.

Penal statutes have been multiplied against us as well as against you, and those rights hitherto held most sacred have been attacked; yet have we not ceased from our exertions; we *have* persevered and we *will* persevere, though military law be proclaimed and trial by jury suspended. 'Tis true we cannot boast of our sufferings with equal propriety; but if circumstances shall place us in a like situation, we trust we shall not be found inferior in virtue to the people of Ireland. You have borne individual wrong with unparalleled patience and forbearance; with a view to promote collective happiness you have convinced the world that you possess *passive* courage to a great extent; and should the omnipotent voice of necessity call upon you to exert it *actively*, doubt not but you will evince that you possess it in as eminent a degree.

We embrace the present opportunity of appealing to our armed countrymen in Ireland. ‘*Soldiers,*’ We have with the deepest concern learned, that you have on some occasions been induced to violate that humanity which has heretofore characterized British soldiers. We conjure you by the love you bear your country, and by the affection you feel for your relatives, and by every thing that is dear to man, to forbear committing any outrage, however you may be *promised* protection therein; we entreat you, if you value the national honour of Great Britain, or the reputation of her arms, to disgrace not the one or sully the other by acts of cruelty or brutality. Remember, Britons, that were it possible for you to descend so vilely low as to become the agents of enslaving Ireland, and were it possible for you to succeed therein, her inhabitants may be made the instruments of subjugating the liberties of *your* country. If you massacre the Irish, will not the Irish in some measure be justified in retaliating upon the British. If good offices demand congenial returns, does not offensive cruelty palliate defensive barbarity. But why should we predict calamities which we hope will never happen; but will we trust behave with the manly firmness of British soldiers, not the desperate fury of freebooters and assassins; such conduct will endear you to your relatives and friends, by convincing them that their happiness is dear to you; it will restore peace and liberty to Ireland, and consequently to Great Britain.

GENEROUS, GALLANT NATION,

May the present address convince you how truly we sympathise in all your sufferings, and how much we should be gratified at being able to alleviate them.—May nations be instructed by your example, to mark the wily schemes by which governors induce a people to barter away their liberty, under an idea of preserving present quiet; may they learn that “EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES” have been the watchword of DESPOTISM in all ages and in all countries; and that when a people once permits government to violate the genuine principles of liberty, encroachment will be grafted upon encroachment; evil will grow upon evil; violation will follow violation, and power will engender power, till the liberties of ALL will be held at the despotic command of a tyrant or tyrants, who will soon throw away EVEN the mask of law, and undisguisedly violate what they for a while politically seemed to respect and venerate.

May your governors be warned by historic experience, and learn that governments are made for the people, and not the people for governments; that the voice of God is always to be gathered from the congregated WILL of his rational creatures; that the *just* revenge of a people is ever *proportionated* to the injuries which they have *received*; that the irritated feelings of the injured cannot always be repressed; that forbearance beyond a

certain point becomes cowardice; that a courageous people may be driven to despair; and finally, that an UNANIMOUS, AN UNITED nation never can rebel.

In thy behalf, oh Ireland! do we supplicate the great Author of Nature! May he look with compassion upon thy miseries! May he wipe away the falling tear from the cheek of affliction! May he be a "father to the fatherless," and a friend to him who has none to help him! May he strengthen the feeble, invigorate the weak, encourage the timid, UNITE the DISUNITED, energise the virtuous, enervate the vicious, paralyse the efforts of the wicked, and crown with success the *struggles* of the *brave* and *valiant*; ultimately we beseech Him to inspire you with that undaunted courage and perseverance which is essential to the attainment and security of rational freedom; that freedom without which life is only a miserable existence, and death a happy release from bondage.

Signed in name, and by order of the London Corresponding Society,

Committee Room,
London, 30th January, 1798.

R. T. Crosfield, President.
Thos. Evans, Secretary.

APPENDIX, (No. 10.)

Address of the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France—Health and Fraternity.

Citizen Directors,

WE are called together on the wing of the moment to communicate to you our sentiments. The citizen who now presents them to you, and who was the bearer of them before, having but a few hours to remain in town, expect not a laboured address from us; but plainness is the great characteristic of republicans.

Affairs are now drawing to a great and awful crisis; tyranny, shaken to its basis, seems about to be buried in its own ruins. With the tyranny of England, that of all Europe must fall. Hasten then, great nation! pour forth thy gigantic force! Let the base despot feel thine avenging stroke, and let one oppressed nation carol forth the praises of France at the altar of liberty.

We saw with rapture your proclamation, they met our warmest wishes, and removed doubts from the minds of millions. Go on! Englishmen will be ready to second your efforts.

The system of borrowing, which has hitherto enabled our tyrants to disturb the peace of a whole world, is at end; they have tried to raise a kind of forced loan—it *has failed!* Every tax diminishes that revenue it was intended to augment, and the voluntary contributions produce almost nothing. The aristocracy pay their taxes under that mask; the poor workmen in large manufactories

have been forced to contribute under the threat of being turned out of employ; even the army have been called upon to give a portion of their pay to carry on the war—by far the greatest part have peremptorily refused to contribute to so base a purpose, and the few that have complied, have in general been cajoled, or reluctantly compelled to it.

Englishmen are no longer blind to their most sacred claims; no longer are they the dupes of an imaginary constitution; every day they see themselves bereft of some part of the poor fragment of democracy they have hitherto enjoyed, and they find that in order to possess a constitution they must *make one*.

Parliamentary declaimers have been the bane of our freedom. National plunder was the object of every faction, and it was the interest of each to keep the people in the dark; but the delusion is past! the government has pulled off its disguise, and the very men who, under the semblance of *moderate reform*, only wished to climb into power, are now glad to fall into the ranks of the people. Yes, they have fallen into the ranks, and there they must for ever remain, for Englishmen can never place confidence in them.

Already have the English fraternized with the Irish and Scots, and a delegate from each now sits with us. The sacred flame of liberty is rekindled, the holy obligation of brotherhood is received with enthusiasm; even in the fleets and armies it makes some progress—Disaffection prevails in both, and united Britain burns to break her chains.

Fortunately we have no leader; avarice and cowardice have pervaded the rich, but we are not therefore the less united. Some few of the opulent have indeed, by speeches, professed themselves the friends of democracy, but they have not acted; they have considered themselves as distinct from the people, and the people will, in its turn, consider their claims to its favour as unjust and frivolous. They wish, perhaps, to place us in the front of the battle, that, unsupported by the wealth they enjoy, we may perish, when they hope to rise upon our ruin. But let them be told, though we may fall through their criminal neglect, they can never hope to rule, and that Englishmen, once free, will not submit to a few political impostors.

United as we are, we now only wait with impatience to see the hero of Italy, and the brave veterans of the great nation. Myriads will hail their arrival with shouts of joy; they will soon finish the glorious campaign! Tyranny will vanish from the face of the earth, and, crowned with laurel, the invincible army of France will return to its native country, there long to enjoy the well earned praise of a grateful world, whose freedom they have purchased with their blood.

6th Pluviose,
A. R. P. G. 6.

(L. S.)

APPENDIX (No. 11 and 12.)

1

APPENDIX (No. 11.)

COPY of a Form of Oath found in THOMAS EVANS'S
Pocket, proposed for the United Englishmen.

I ——— do truly and sincerely engage to defend my country,
should necessity require ; for which purpose am willing to join the
Society of True Britons, to learn the use of arms, in order that
equal rights and laws should be established and defended.

APPENDIX (No. 12.)

COPY of a Form of Oath found on the Floor of the
George, St. John Street, Clerkenwell.

IN the awful presence of God, I *A. B.* do voluntarily declare,
That I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of
affection among Englishmen of every religious persuasion ; and that
I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and
adequate representation of all the People of England.

I do farther declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punish-
ments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or
give evidence against any Member or Members of this or similar
Society, for any act or expression of theirs done or made, collec-
tively or individually, in or out of this Society in pursuance of the
spirit of this obligation.

So help me GOD.

APPENDIX (No. 13.)

The Declarations, Resolutions, and Constitution of the Societies of United Englishmen.

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS.

IN the present æra of Reform, when unjust Governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms, against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all governments are acknowledged to originate from the People, and to be so far only obligatory as they protect their rights and promote their welfare:—we think it our duty, as Englishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—We are ruled by individuals, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of the People; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty of her representatives in the Legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force, in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit* in the *People*.—Qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great Measure, essential to the prosperity and freedom of England—AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

We do not here mention as grievances the corruption publicly practised in both Houses of Parliament; nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic in both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our Constitution, and leaves to the People, in their own government, but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called *The Society of United Englishmen*: and we do pledge ourselves to our Country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following Resolutions:

FIRST—Resolved—*That the Weight of corrupt Influence in the Government of this Country is so great, as to require a COR-*

DIAL UNION among ALL THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, to maintain that Balance which is essential to the Preservation of our Liberties.

SECOND—That the sole Constitutional Mode, by which this Influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical REFORM of the REPRESENTATION of the PEOPLE in PARLIAMENT.

THIRD—That no REFORM is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Englishmen of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied, as we are, that the intestine divisions among Englishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt Administrations, in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted—We submit our Resolutions to the Nation, as the basis of our political faith.

We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil—we have stated what we conceive to be the *Remedy*.—With a Parliament thus reformed, every thing is easy—without it nothing can be done;—And we do call on, and most earnestly exhort our Countrymen in general, to follow our Example, and to form similar Societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the Promotion of Constitutional Knowledge, the Abolition of Bigotry in Religion and Politics, and the equal Distribution of the Rights of Man throughout all sects and denominations of Englishmen. The People, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which Theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present Provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their Pretensions FOR EVER.

The Society of United Englishmen, ardently desiring, that the unawed, unhired, and honest Part of the Community, should become One great Society of United Englishmen, are of Opinion, that a general Code of Regulations is absolutely necessary to accomplish that important End. For this Purpose, they have, after mature deliberation, adopted the following Constitution and Test, the adoption of which is necessary for such Societies as wish to enter into communication and correspondence with those already established.

It is earnestly recommended to Societies, to establish a Baronial Committee in a central part of each barony, or such other district as may be thought proper, for the purpose of corresponding with each other, by deputation or otherwise. The Societies of each barony to be numbered according to seniority, and the number of Members to be returned to the Secretary of the Baronial Committee quarterly.

New Societies should be established by a Deputation from an old one, who are to see a Secretary appointed, and attested according to the Secretaries' Test.

The Blanks in the Constitutional Code are to be filled up agreeably to the Opinion and Convenience of each Society.

CONSTITUTION.

1st. THIS Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a Brotherhood of Affection, a Communion of Rights, and an Union of Power among Englishmen of EVERY RELIGIOUS PERSUASION; and thereby to obtain a complete Reform in the Legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious Liberty.

2d. The Members of this Society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3d. Every Candidate for admission into this Society shall be proposed by one Member, and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and whose names shall be entered in the books of the Society. The Candidate to be balloted for on the Society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he shall stand rejected.

4th. As a Fund is necessary, the better to carry into effect the purposes of this Association, each Member, on his admission, shall pay to the Society the sum of _____ and per month while he shall continue a Member.

5th. The officers of this Society shall be a Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

6th. This Society, in manner aforesaid, shall appoint two Members, who, with the Secretary, shall act for the Society in a Baronial Committee, which Members shall receive

on each night of their attendance on said Committee.

7th. This Society shall, in manner aforesaid, appoint Members, who, with the Treasurer, shall form a Committee of Finance, &c.

8th. At the request of either Committees, or any Members signing a requisition, the Secretary, or if he shall be absent, the Treasurer, shall call an extra meeting of the Society.

9th. This Society shall meet in ordinary, every second evening, at _____ o'clock, the President to be chosen by a majority of the Members present, of whom shall be a quorum.

10th. Every respect and deference shall be paid to the Chairman. On his rising from his seat and taking off his hat there shall be silence, and the Members seated. He shall be the judge of order and propriety: shall grant leave of absence at pleasure: shall not enter into debate. If any Member behave improperly, he is empowered to direct an apology, or if refractory, fine him in any sum not exceeding _____ and on refusal to do as directed, he shall therefore be expelled the Society for

11th. No Member shall speak more than twice to one question, without leave from the Chairman.

12th. Every person elected a Member of this Society, whether ordinary or honorary, shall, previous to his admission, take the following TEST, in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and one Member appointed by the Chairman; or in case of absence of one of the two persons, the Chairman shall appoint another Member to act for the Absentee; after which the new Member shall be brought into the body of the Society, and there take the TEST in the usual form.

T E S T.

“ In the awful presence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, That I will persevere in endeavouring to form a Brotherhood of Affection among Englishmen of EVERY religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate Representation of ALL the People of England.

“ I do farther declare, That neither Hopes, Fears, Rewards, nor Punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give Evidence against any Member or Members of this or similar Societies, for any Act or Expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this Society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”

13th. A Member of any other acknowledged Society being introduced to this Society by a Member, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the Secretary, and sealed with the seal of the Society to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing Test, be admitted to attend the sittings of this Society.

14th. No Member shall have a certificate but by applying to the Committee, who shall not grant it unless the Member is leaving his place of residence, which certificate shall be lodged with the Secretary on his return.

15th. When this Society shall amount to the number of thirty-six Members, it shall be equally divided by lot*; that is, the names of all the Members shall be put into a hat or box; the Secretary or Treasurer shall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen shall be considered the Senior Society, and the remaining eighteen the Junior, who shall apply to the Baronial Committee, through the Delegates of the Senior Society, for a number, and that this division shall take place only in the months of October, January, April, and July. The Fund shall also be equally divided.

* Societies in country places to divide as may best suit their local situation.

16th. That no Society shall be recognized by any Committee, unless approving of, and taking the Test, and amounting in number to seven members.

Order of Business at Meetings.

- 1st. *New Members read Declaration and Test, during which Subscriptions to be collected*
- 2d. *New Members take the Test, all Members standing and uncovered.*
- 3d. *Minutes of preceding Meeting read.*
- 4th. *Reports of Committees received.*
- 5th. *Communications called for.*
- 6th. *Candidates balloted for.*
- 7th. *Candidates proposed.*
- 8th. *Motions made and determined.*
- 9th. *Place and Time of next Meeting appointed.*

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES, AS ADOPTED THE 10TH
OF MAY.

BARONIAL COMMITTEES.

1st. When any barony or other district shall contain three or more Societies, three persons from each shall be elected by ballot conformable to the sixth article, to form a Baronial Committee (for three months;) their names to be returned to the Secretary of the senior Society, who shall request a deputation from the nearest Baronial Committee to constitute a Committee for the said barony or other district.

2d. When any barony or district shall contain eight Societies, they may form another Committee, to be called the second Committee of said barony or district, provided each contain three or more societies.

3d. Baronial Committees shall receive Delegates from Societies of a contiguous barony, provided said barony do not contain three Societies.

4th. That the Baronial Committee shall correspond with Societies or individuals who have subscribed the declaration, and taken the test of the present associated Societies.

5th. That all questions shall be determined by a majority of the Members present.

6th. That the Baronial Committee being regularly summoned

the one third of its members shall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to business.

7th. That any business originating in any individual Society, shall, at the instance of such Societies Delegates, be by the Baronial Committee laid before the other Societies.

COUNTY COMMITTEES.

1st. When any county shall contain three or more Baronial Committees, two persons shall be elected by ballot from each Baronial Committee to form a County Committee (for three months.)

2d. County Committees shall receive Delegates from Baronial Committees of adjacent counties, if said counties do not contain three Baronial Committees.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES.

1st. When two or more counties shall have County Committees, three persons shall be elected by ballot from each to form a Provincial Committee (for three months.)

2d. Delegates from County Committees in other provinces will be received, if such province do not contain two County Committees.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

That when two Provincial Committees are formed they shall elect five persons from each by ballot to form a National Committee.

Societies first meetings in November, February, May, and August, to be on or before the 5th. Baronial Committees on or before the 8th. County Committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, County, and Provincial Committees, shall meet at least once in every month, and report to their constituents.

Names of Committee Men should not be known by any person but by those who elect them.

TEST for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

“ In the awful Presence of God, I. A. B. do voluntarily declare, that as long as I shall hold the Office of Secretary to this
 “ I will to the utmost of my power faithfully discharge
 “ the duties thereof. That all papers or documents received by
 “ me, as Secretary, I will in safety keep; I will not give any
 “ of them, or any copy or copies of them, to any person or per-

“ fons, members or others, but by a vote of this and
 “ that I will, at the expiration of my Secretaryship, deliver up to
 “ this all such papers as may be then in my Possession.”

CERTIFICATE.

Society of United Englishmen of

" I HEREBY certify, that *A. B.* has been duly elected, and
" having taken the test provided in the constitution, has been ad-
" mitted a member of this Society."

Sec.

APPENDIX, (No. 14.)

Copy of TEST to be used by the Soldiers.

I A. B. do swear not to obey the Colonel, but the People, not the Officers, but the Committee of United Englishmen, then sitting in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to assist with arms, as far as lies in my power, to establish a Republican form of Government in this country, and others, and to assist the French on their landing to free this country.

So help me GOD.

APPENDIX, (No. 15.)

RESOLUTIONS and CONSTITUTION of the Society of UNITED SCOTSMEN.

In the present age, when knowledge is making rapid strides among mankind, and neighbouring nations have been under the necessity of meliorating their condition, owing to the stubbornness and perfidy of the governments under which they lived, by despising and rejecting the reiterated and just calls of the People for Reform ;—it becomes us, as friends to peace and good order, at the present awful crisis, when we are engaged in an unprecedented bloody and expensive war, to investigate with calmness and deliberation into the System of our own Government, on purpose to discover its errors and defects ; so that whatever abuses may exist, they may be rectified by a timely Reform, and the like calamities which have befallen a neighbouring nation may be prevented.

Conscious of the rectitude of our association and intentions, and

regardless of the threats of the venal and interested, we will enquire into our grievances with a determined and manly freedom, knowing that we have no other object in view, but the peace and happiness of our native country. Possessing such ideas, we cannot but exclaim with astonishment, what a multitude of ages have mankind been kept in complete ignorance with respect to their natural rights!—rights of which no association of men have a power to deprive them, whatever foolish titles they may assume. Was the human race created with reasoning faculties by the Supreme Being, for no other purpose than to be possessed and made tools by corrupt Governments, for the destruction of their own species? No.—It was for a more noble end.

We disdain the principles of corrupt courtiers and their Satellites, who propagate such nefarious doctrine. Mankind are naturally friends to each other; and it is only the corruptions and abuses in governments that make them enemies.

We profess ourselves friends to mankind, of whatever nation or religion. National and party distinctions have been created and supported by tyrannic men, on purpose to maintain their unjust usurpations over the people.

We will ask any unprejudiced person, if the People in Britain are fairly, fully, or equally represented? Have the people in general any controul or concern in the election of Magistrates in the different Boroughs in Scotland? Are clergymen, in many parts of Scotland, forced on the people against their inclination? Are there any intricacies or inequalities in law procedure that could be rectified? We decline enumerating many other abuses, all of which could be removed by a timely and radical Reform in the House of Commons.

We abhor and detest all riots and tumults. Our armour shall be reason and truth, which we will not swerve from on any account. Our whole aim is to procure Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage. Till this is done we declare to the World, that we will never desist till we procure this our national right, the want of which is probably the source of all our national grievances.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have collectively and individually agreed to form an Association, to be called THE UNITED SCOTSMEN; and we do pledge ourselves to our Country, and mutually to each other, to carry into effect, by all just means, the following

RESOLUTION:

An equal Representation of all the People in Parliament,

CONSTITUTION.

1. This Society is constituted for the Purpose of forwarding a

brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Britons of every description,—for the purpose of obtaining a complete Reform in the Legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious Liberty.

2. The members of this Society, shall not be confined to any description of men, but extended to all Persons who may be deemed eligible.

3. Every candidate for admission into this Society shall be proposed by one member, and seconded by another; both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and be balloted for, before he can be admitted a member.

4. Each member shall pay not less than six pence on entering the Society; and not less than three pence per month, during his continuance in the said Society.

5. The one half of the income to be paid into the hands of the Secret Committee, the other half to defray expences of Delegates attending their duty in different Committees.

6. The officers of this Society, shall be a Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be chosen by ballot, and continue in office two months.

7. No member shall speak more than twice to one question, without leave from the chairman, whom he shall address, standing.

8. A President to be chosen by ballot each meeting, whose business it shall be to keep order, and not to enter into debate.

9. When any Society amounts to sixteen members, they shall divide into two Societies, the new Society taking along with them a Secretary properly constituted.

PAROCHIAL COMMITTEES.

1. When any parish or district shall contain three Societies, two persons from each shall be appointed, by ballot, to form a parochial Committee, one of whom shall go out each month, and another balloted for.

2. When any parish or district shall contain ten Societies, they shall divide into a second Committee of said parish.

3. Parochial Committees shall receive delegates from Societies of a neighbouring parish, providing said parish does not contain three Societies.

4. That all questions shall be determined by a majority of the members present. None to sit in the Committee but Delegates.

5. That any business originating in any Society shall, at the instance of such Society's Delegates, be, by the Parochial laid before the other Societies.

APPENDIX (No. 15.)

COUNTY COMMITTEES.

1. When any town or county contains three or more parochial Committees, they shall elect two persons from each to form a county Committee.
2. When any county shall contain twelve parochials, it shall divide into a second Committee of said County.
3. County Committees shall receive Delegates from parochials of adjacent counties, if said county does not contain three parochial Committees.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES.

1. When any province contains three county Committees, they shall elect two from each to form a Provincial Committee.
2. Provincial Committees shall receive Delegates from adjacent provinces, if said provinces do not contain three county Committees.
3. Every provincial Committee shall send not less than two Delegates to the Supreme National Committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The national Committee shall elect a secret Committee of seven members, all residing in or near the place where the national holds its sittings; two of them to go out by rotation each national meeting, and two others elected in their place.

ORDINARY BUSINESS AT MEETINGS.

1. President elected.
2. Reports of delegates received.
3. Communications called for.
4. Candidates voted for
5. Motions made and determined.
6. Time and place of next meeting appointed.

PLAN OF DISCIPLINE.

That there shall be a Committee of three elected out of every Society, consisting of the Secretary and two of the Members, chosen for the following purposes, namely, to receive such persons as have been approved by the Society, and to admonish members who have behaved improperly.

APPENDIX (No. 16.)

TEST FOR MEMBERS.

IN the awful presence of GOD, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Britons of every description; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people in Great Britain: I do further declare, that whatever misfortunes may befall any Member or Members of this or similar Societies, in legally pursuing the objects of this Union, I will esteem it my duty to support them lawfully, to the utmost of my ability. So help me God.

TEST FOR SECRETARY.

IN the awful presence of GOD, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that as long as I shall hold the office of Secretary to this I will, to the utmost of my abilities faithfully discharge the duties thereof.

That all papers or documents, received by me as Secretary, I will in safety keep: I will not give any of them, or any copy or copies of them, to any person or persons, Members or others, but by a vote of this and that I will, at the expiration of my Secretaryship, deliver up to this all such papers as may be then in my possession. So help me GOD.

TEST OF SECRECY.

IN the awful presence of GOD, I, *A. B.* do declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give any evidence against any Member or Members of this or similar Societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this Society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation. So help me GOD.

Appendix, (No. 16.)

ADDRESS distributed by MARTIN DUNNOVAN at Gosport.

AN IRISHMAN'S ADDRESS to his Fellow Countrymen in England,
IRISHMEN!

Are you dead to the sufferings of your devoted country? Is her

prosperity become indifferent to you, because the oppression of her Government has forced you to seek for bread in a foreign country? No! you answer, we love Ireland as we love our lives, and are willing to serve her upon all occasions. The fertile plains of Ireland produce corn plentifully, and nourish cattle in abundance; yet the poor, from the oppression of the rich are deprived of the means of providing subsistence, and driven by hard necessity to seek support in a country where they are upbraided with their poverty, and obliged to labour almost unceasingly. Your condition may with propriety be compared with the Israelites of old: they were in bondage, and compelled to perform the most labourious and degrading employments that their taskmasters, the Egyptians, thought proper to impose. You are slaves in a land which boasts of liberty, and your country is enslaved by the agents of England! In Ireland, Government protects only Spies and Informers, and those, who with themselves oppress the inhabitants. To be an Irishman, to love Irishmen, and to unite with Irishmen, are crimes for which our countrymen are daily dragged from their families, and thrown into cold damp dungeons, where, if they do not perish from the cruelty of their treatment, they are sent to unwholesome climates, where no vigour or strength of constitution can preserve them: in short, Murder, Rapine, and Plunder, are practised with impunity in every corner of our unfortunate country. I rejoice to see you sensible of your country's wrongs—The labouring sigh with which your generous bosom seems ready to burst; and the big tear which rolls down your manly cheek, display your detestation of such horrid oppressions. But let us not be for ever weeping and lamenting, and for ever submitting to lick the foot which is upraised to trample on our dearest rights. No, my loved countrymen, Indignation shall glow in our bosoms, and the injuries we suffer shall soon fan the flame till it burst into active revenge.—If revenge is not a virtue, injustice is not a crime. Oh! degraded, injured, and insulted Ireland! whose towns are plundered—whose villages are burned—whose sons are butchered—whose daughters are violated—and whose infants pine for want of the protection of their parents. Oh! ever-to-be lamented stain upon the national honour of Irishmen, who are now unable to protect their women (dear to them as their existence) from the brutal lust of British Fencibles. Oh! unhappy country, where an attachment to liberty, virtue, and morality is punished as the most criminal of vices; and where an adherence to tyranny, injustice, and inhumanity is rewarded as the most virtuous of actions. Awake to a just sense of your injuries—Arouse from your torpor—Join the bands of your countrymen—Lay aside your party distinctions of Leinster Men and Munster Men—Lay aside your religious differences of Catholic and Protestant, and embrace every Irishman as your friend and your brother. Consult together, read this little paper among

your neighbours, and never forget the duty you owe to the country that gave you birth, and nourished your infant years; associate with each other in a "Bond of Brotherhood and Union;" be bold; be courageous; act firmly; act like Irishmen, and you will do honour to yourselves, and assist in the emancipation of your suffering country. Then shall we return to the land of Hibernia, where peace and plenty shall give happiness to all---Then shall Ireland be blessed with a free government, which will administer equal justice to the poor and to the rich; and then shall be equally protected the rights and liberties of all the people of Ireland.---Finally, when our country is emancipated, we shall enjoy comfort and happiness in our nativeland, and boast that we have not been idle in promoting universal liberty.

APPENDIX, (No. 17.)

No. 1.---ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court Martial held on Board his Majesty's Ship, Royal William, at Spit-head, on the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d, June, 1797.

Captain the Honourable THOMAS PACKENHAM, President, who,
with Twelve other Captains, composed the Court.

This court was assembled for the trial of William Guthry, James Calaway, Thomas Ashly, Robert Johnson, and John Davis, seamen belonging to his Majesty's Ship, *Pompée*, Captain James Vashon, for making, and endeavouring to make, mutinous assemblies on board the said ship; and for inducing, by various artifices and threats, a part of her crew to them, and to aid them in carrying their unlawful designs into execution; and John Broghan, seaman also of the said ship, for being present at these meetings, and using also mutinous and threatening speeches to a part of the crew. Ciptain Vashon, of the *Pompée*, Profecutor, proceeded to examine his evidence in support of the charges. The first called in was a seaman, named Peter Dallimore; the second was Dr. Josiah Packwood, Surgeon of the ship, who produced a piece of paper that had been found among the prisoner Johnson's things, when they were examined in the Captain's cabin. The paper was as follows;

" I to ever stand true till death in promot-
ing the cause of Freedom with equity, while any probability
furthering its progress remain." This paper was read by
Callaway to Peter Dallimore, when he, and the other pri-
soners, told him that their object was to obtain an immediate

peace on the return of the ship to port. They then swore him in "To stand true to the ship's company, and not to divulge the secret to any of the officers." Callaway held the book, and with Johnson repeated the words of the oath, which ended with "So help me God."

All the other evidence went clearly and decidedly to confirm the charges, but particularly that of James Addison, seaman. His evidence displayed much loyalty, having not only admonished the prisoners on the impropriety of their conduct, when they asked him if he wanted a peace, and which they said could be obtained without dismissing the Ministers; but he drew up two papers to be read to the crew to counteract their illegal and mutinous designs.

It also appeared in the course of the examinations, that Broghan had declared he would hang every one who did not sign the paper drawn up by the mutineers for the dismissal of Ministers, and for the attainment of peace. Some of the mutineers had, it seems, expressed an intention of carrying the ship into a French port.

The Efforts of the mutineers were, in a great degree, however, counteracted by the zeal and loyalty of a Serjeant of marines (named West,) who, with the assistance of a few of the loyal seamen, swore all the marines to be true to their officers.

The Court, after hearing all the evidence, both in support of the prosecution and in favour of the prisoners, as well as the defence they had to offer, passed sentence of death on William Guthry, James Callaway, Thomas Ashly, and Robert Johnson, the charges being proved against them; but recommended Guthry and Callaway to mercy on account of former good characters: acquitted Davis, and sentenced John Broghan to one twelve months solitary confinement in the Marshalsea.

APPENDIX (No. 18.)

No. 2.---ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court Martial held on Board His Majesty's Ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, between the 16th and 23d August, 1798 (Sunday excepted.)

Captain THOMAS TOTTY, President, who with Eight other Captains composed the Court.

This Court was assembled for the trial of Bartholomew Duff, Lawrence Buckley, Michael Butler, John Divine, John Dismond, James Cluney, James Mahar, John Matier, William Cotter, Dennis Hilfry, Robert M'Gee, John Clafe, John M'Gan, Edward Leonard, Guille Brille, Thomas Burke, Michael Doyle,

Henry M'Clennon, Thomas Short, John Rusty, Martin Riely, and Patrick Hangling, then or late of the Cæsar.

The eight first as ringleaders, and the remaining fourteen as aiders and abettors, in making mutinous assemblies on board the said ship.---The oath administered by these mutineers to the crew was, "To be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the King or his Government."---The sign among the United Irishmen was to put the Right Hand upon the Left Breast.---The answer, to seize the Right Hand with the left.---It appeared in the evidence, that they intended to murder the officers, to seize the ship, and to carry her to France or Ireland. The prisoner Duff gave some of the people to understand, that he had received letters from Ireland, telling him that they were to receive every assistance from France, and that Buonaparte was soon to be in Ireland.---Edward Brophy, a marine, who had belonged to the Cæsar, sent the annexed paper marked (A.) to Captain Home, containing the names of eight leading mutineers, with Bartholomew Duff at the head; and of forty-eight, being suspicious characters, and constantly in Duff's company.

In the evidence against Butler it appeared, that he had at different times said, that there ought to be a Catholic Government in Ireland! that the Protestants should be expelled; and that the English had no right to be there. He also wished to be in Ireland to assist in the Rebellion, and to recover the title and estate of Ormond, of which he said his family had been unjustly deprived by the English.---Butler, also it appeared, had declared, that he should never die easy till he swam in English blood.---There was evidence equally strong against other of the prisoners, and the Court, after having heard the defence the prisoners had to offer, sentenced Duff, Buckley, Butler, Dismonde, Mahar, and Cotter to suffer death, Divine and Cluney to 500 lashes each, and to be mulcted of all their pay, and the remainder to be acquitted.

[Paper A.]

As I Edward Brophy, marine, who lately belonged to his Majesty's ship Cæsar, who have been permitted by R. Home, Esq; who holds that honourable post as Captain of the said ship, whereas he has allowed me so far as to be an evidence to convict the conspirators, and to bring the said plot to light, which has been carried on for some time against our King and Country, when I am put on my oath nothing shall be wanting to bring every thing to light to the best of my knowledge.

Bartholomew Duff,
John Disman,
W^m Cotter,
James Maher,
Law^{ce} Buckley,
W^m Burke,
Mich^l Butler,
Mich^l Fitzgerald.

Those persons I can give evidence to be leaders of the plot that was carried on on board his Majesty's ship Cæsar.

The undermentioned persons I can give evidence as being suspicious people, and continually being in Duff's company and the above-mentioned Names:

Andrew Broghall,
W^m M^cGuire,
Patt. Purcell,
W^m Ivory,
Pat. Gannon,
Martin Riely,
Tho^s Jones,
Jn^o King,
Sol^r Harrington,
W^m Costley,
Sam^l Dowly,
Ja^s Clooney,
H. Kingston,
Jn^o M^cDonald,
R. Davis,
Corso Morosso, }
John Victory, } Frenchmen,
Jo^s Butler,
Geo. Newby,

Farrel Conway,
Pat. O'Bryan,
Geo. Cordolley,
Edward M^cNamara,
Owen Kearns,
Thomas Carroll,
Tho^s Montgomery,
John Ricoz, a Frenchman,
Owen Keenan,
John Byrne,
Bryan Cannon,
Owen Carty,
Timothy Cronen,
Paul Condon,
Andrew Neale,
James Hannagan,
Thomas Dempsey,
John Mahony.

M A R I N E S.

P. Hanlan,
Rob^t M^cGee,
John Close,
Morris M^cGarr,
Edward Leonard,
Dennis Kilfey,

John Rusly,
John M^cTier,
John M^cGarr,
Ja^s Morrison,
John Lacey.

APPENDIX (No. 19.)

No. 3.—ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court Martial held on board His Majesty's Ship *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth Harbour, between the 8th and 14th of September 1798, (Sunday excepted).

Captain JOHN HOLLOWAY, President, who, with Seven other Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of John Brady, William Lindsay, John Hopkins, James Moor, Christopher Mahane, Terence Dunn, Thomas Jourdain, James Cannon, David Reed, Thomas Derbyshire, Nicholas Ryan, Cornelius Callaghan, Owen M'Cartey, Richard Kennedy, Thomas Luffin, Patrick Devoy, John Donally, Peter M'Guire, John Hoare, Edward Swinney, Patrick Hynes, Michael Foy, Michael Kelly, and Edward M'Laughlin, seamen; and James Lawless, private marine, belonging to His Majesty's ship *Defiance*, Captain Theophilus Jones, for having held mutinous assemblies on board the said ship, at which an Oath to the following purport was taken:

" I swear to be true to the Free and United Irishmen, who are
 " now fighting our Cause against Tyrants and Oppressors; and to
 " defend their Rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep
 " all secret; and I do agree to carry the ship into Brest the next
 " time the ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every Officer
 " and man that shall hinder us, except the Master; and to hoist
 " a Green Ensign with a Harp in it; and afterwards to kill and
 " destroy the Protestants."

All the evidence clearly shewed the guilt of the prisoners in a greater or lesser degree; and the Court having heard what they had to offer in their defence, passed sentence of death on Brady, Lindsay, Hopkins, Mahane, Dunn, Jourdain, Cannon, Reed, Derbyshire, Ryan, Callaghan, Kennedy, Luffin, Devoy, M'Guire, Hoare, Swinney, Kelly, and M'Laughlin.—But in consideration of some circumstances, Hopkins, Mahane, Dunn, Jourdain, Cannon, Devoy, M'Guire, and Hoare, were recommended by the Court for mercy, on condition of transportation, &c.

Moor and Lawless were sentenced to receive 200 lashes each, and one year's solitary confinement in the Marshalsea. M'Carty and Foy were sentenced to receive 100 lashes each, and six months solitary confinement. Hynes was sentenced to one year's solitary confinement; and Donally was acquitted.

APPENDIX (No. 20.)

No. 4.—ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court Martial held on board His Majesty's Ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, from the 1st to the 9th October 1798, inclusive (except Sunday).

Vice-Admiral Sir A. GARDNER, President, who, with Twelve Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of William Regan, Patrick Murphy, George Norton, and James Callaney, seamen, of His Majesty's ship Glory, and Edmund Gibbons, John Hoare, and Thomas Dillon, marines, serving in the said ship, for having conspired to murder the Officers, and those who should assist them, and then to carry the ship into a French port; and for having, by seditious and mutinous expressions, endeavoured to keep up a spirit of mutiny among the Irish seamen and marines. John O'Bryan, seaman, also, for seditious and mutinous expressions, and wishing success to the mutineers. Lawrence Dowd, seaman, for proposing to Patrick Bayle, marine, to blow up the ship, in the event of the Irish party failing in their attempt.

It appeared in the evidence, that Regan was expected to be appointed Captain of the Glory, in the event of their getting to France; that the leaders would be promoted, the value of the ship given to them, and then to proceed with the French against Ireland.—The annexed loyal Declaration and Address, marked (B.), of all the Irish in the ship, was given to Captain Brine, as a cloak for their proceeding, and with a view to throw the Officers off their guard.

The Court having heard the evidence in support of the charges, and the defence of the prisoners, sentenced William Regan, Patrick Murphy, George Norton, James Callaney, Edward Gibbons, John Hoare, Thomas Dillon, and Lawrence Dowd, to suffer death, the charges being fully proved. John O'Bryan to receive 100 lashes on board the Glory, to be mulcted of his pay, and kept 12 months in solitary confinement in the Marshalsea prison.

The same Court having tried Dennis Mahoney (first), and Richard Holmes, seaman, for mutinous expressions, were sentenced; the former to receive 200 lashes on board the Glory, to be mulcted of all his pay, and to be kept in solitary confinement in the Marshalsea for 12 months; and the latter to 100 lashes, to be mulcted of his pay, and kept in solitary confinement for 12 months in the Marshalsea.

[Paper B.]

Honoured Sir,

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, natives of Ireland, with grief and anxiety have heard, lately, of a horrid plot or conspiracy having existed in this ship, attributed entirely to us, and which the late unhappy disturbance in Ireland, and the recent horrid transactions on board the *Cæsar*, give too great a colour to; and these rumours having been industriously circulated by some designing men, for the evident purpose of creating a division and party spirit between the English and Irish, we, for ourselves, do solemnly swear before Almighty God, whose awful name we would not take in vain, that we do not know of any plot or conspiracy, or mutinous assembly in the ship, now, or at any other time; and that we will, to the last moment of our lives, defend our King and glorious Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, apprehend and bring to condign punishment any person or persons who shall dare stir up any sedition or mutiny, or endeavour to cause any division or misunderstanding between us and our brave brethren in arms, Englishmen, to whom we are bound by every tie in nature, and whose interest and our own are inseparable.

We cannot close these few lines without expressing our grateful and heartfelt sense of the excellent and humane usage of Captain Brine, and all his Officers, to the ship's company; and we do not hesitate to pronounce him a villain, a traitor to his country, and an enemy to mankind, who shall disturb the tranquillity, but for the subject of this address, we so happily enjoy under our excellent Officers, whom we shall support, honour, and obey to the last moment of our lives.—Relying, Sir, upon your well-known goodness of heart, and humane disposition, we have thus humbly presumed to lay our sentiments before you, unbiassed by all other considerations but those of the welfare of our King and Government, whom we honour and revere respectfully, leaving it to yourself to make this public, or otherwise, as you in your wisdom shall think fit. With hearts full of loyalty to our King and Country, and the greatest veneration for your public character and private virtues, we conclude, with hoping you will do us the justice to believe that these are the real sentiments of our hearts.

Honoured Sir,

We are, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

86 Seamen and Foremast Men.
26 Marines.

APPENDIX (No. 21.)

No. 5.—ABSTRACT of Proceedings of a Court Martial held on board His Majesty's Ship *Diomede*, in Sheerness Harbour, on the 29th and 30th days of October 1798.

Captain PETER APLIN, President, who, with Twelve other Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of John Wright and George Tomms, marines, serving on board His Majesty's Ship *Diomede*, for having been concerned in attempting to stir up mutiny and sedition in the said ship, and having been guilty of various breaches of the Articles of War.

The evidence that was brought forward on this trial went to shew, that the prisoners were connected with Corresponding Societies at Nottingham, that they attempted to administer an oath to some of the crew, "to carry the ship into an enemy's port," either French, Dutch, or *Irish*; and threatened, in the event of coming to an action with an enemy's ship, to shoot their own Officers on the quarter-deck. The prisoner Tomms's brother, who was living at Nottingham, wrote occasionally to him, and informed him of the state of affairs connected with Ireland. A favourite toast with Tomms was, "May the Wings of Liberty" "never flourish till they are washed in the Blood of Despots."

The prisoners treated the Address from the Admiralty to the Irish Seamen with every contempt; and after the Captain had read it, Tomms declared he should never have an opportunity of reading it again. This prisoner frequently declared his determination to shoot the Officers in the event of coming to action; but if every thing else failed, to blow up the ship on her return to port.

The Court having heard all the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as that which the prisoners could bring forward in their favour, together with the defence they had to offer, sentenced Wright to receive 500 lashes from ship to ship, and Tomms to suffer death. The serjeant of marines, Daniel Alexander, having prevaricated in his evidence, was ordered into solitary confinement for three months in the Marshalsea.

APPENDIX (No. 22.)

No. 6.—ABSTRACT of Proceedings of a Court Martial held on board His Majesty's Ship *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth Harbour, on the 15th January 1799.

Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES THOMPSON, Baronet, President, who, with Twelve Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of Patrick Townshend, James Reilly, Hugh M'Ginnis, and John Marshal, private marines, serving on board His Majesty's ship *St. George*, Captain John Holloway, for uttering or making use of mutinous or seditious expressions, or being present without using their utmost endeavours to suppress the same.

The evidence produced on this trial principally went to shew, that the prisoners had been seen together in their birth on board the said ship, and had been heard to drink the following toast: "The Tree of Liberty to all United Irishmen, and Damnation to all that are Enemies thereto."

The Court having heard all the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as that which the prisoners had to bring forward in their favour, together with the defence they had to offer, sentenced each and every one of them to receive 300 lashes through the fleet then lying at Portsmouth.

FORMS OF CERTIFICATES OF ELECTION.

APPENDIX (No. 23.)

CERTIFICATE.

London. Society of United Irishmen, No. 1.

I hereby certify, that _____ has been duly elected, and having taken the Test provided in the constitution, has been admitted a Member of this society.

No. 6.

Secretary.

APPENDIX (No. 24.)

CERTIFICATE.

<i>EXTERN.</i> Society of I hereby certify, that duly elected, and having taken the Test provided in the constitution, has been admitted a Member of this society. No.	No. has been Secretary.
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APPENDIX (No. 25.)

Copy of "An ADDRESS to the People of Ireland;"
taken at Division, No. 2. of the United Irishmen, 10th
March, 1799.

To the People.

MEN OF IRELAND,

PERSEVERE—the cause of freedom must finally prevail. What has hitherto taken place, instead of discouraging you, should rather inspire the most animating confidence of success. If a few counties, ill armed and officered, were able to seize so many towns, and baffle for months near one hundred thousand troops, long trained to arms, nurtured in blood, and furnished with every requisite for war; if by the mere energy which the love of liberty inspires, they defeated them on many occasions, and never were defeated till their own ammunition was exhausted, what would have been the result, had the whole nation risen at once properly armed and organized? if in the very moment when recent discomfiture dispirited the brave, and the fallacious hopes of lenity neutralized the mild and irresolute. Nine hundred Frenchmen, with only three field pieces, were able to defeat three armies, take several towns, and a whole train of artillery, kill double their own number, and, almost unassisted, penetrate to the very center of the island; what would as many thousands have accomplished, when supported by the entire population of the country?

Had you been prepared to aid even that handful of auxiliaries, by intercepting or delaying convoys and reinforcements, they must have triumphed. But although you were not then called prematurely into action, the time will speedily arrive when you must be summoned to employ those arms which have lately been distributed.

Hearken no longer to those insolent implacable upstarts, who boast of having wantonly made war upon a long suffering people, and goaded you into rebellion, by burning, rape, robbery, murder, torture, and every other diabolical expedient inquisitorial cruelty could devise, and who, in the same breath, impudently insult you with the ostentatious parade of mercy; when they are wearied, not satiated, with slaughter and proscription.

When the event of the late insurrection appeared doubtful; and the capital was blockaded by your arms, the inefficacy of open force suggested to the coward chancellor the ready aid of fraud: "We must pardon them," said he; "or if the country continues in its present state, it will be impossible for *us* to go on." A general amnesty was accordingly held out, and this perfidious clemency extolled, while a clandestine persecution was continued, to provoke you to acts that might palliate the meditated severities.

Now that these equivocal measures have paralyzed and divided you, where is the mercy of your tyrants? will they re-build for you those cabins, whose flames they have extinguished with innocent blood? will they allow you to starve, unmolested in your native air, which their hireling Russians have polluted with pestilential carnage? or to weep over the desolation of your families, in the arms of your childless consorts, whom Hessian ravishers have branded with infamy and disease? No! this would be too great an indulgence for traitors, who dared to vindicate, by arms, the common rights of men.

By the boasted act of amnesty, his most *gracious* Majesty excludes from his royal mercy "*all* who were in custody at any time since the year 1794, on any charge of treason, suspicion of treason, or treasonable practices; *all* yeomen who have deserted, or who administered any oath or obligation; *all* who carried on, consented to, assisted, or were concerned in any design or proposal for invading, or procuring an invasion, or corresponding with a Foreign power; *all* Members of any Executive, National, or County Committee; all concerned in said *horrid and unnatural Rebellion*, who do not deliver up arms and ammunition of every kind within a time to be appointed; all attainted, or to be attainted this session, or convicted by Court Martial since last May; all offenders against the Mutiny Act," &c. &c.

With such numerous exclusions from forgiveness, it is hard to say who can escape, for the act of any one United Irishman being interpreted as the act of all, and the acts of the society as those of every member, there is not one who will not directly or constructively fall under some of the above descriptions.

Trust not, therefore, to such a deceitful mockery of mercy, (which, were it serious, would only ensure the continuance of

all your grievances) but depend solely on your own arms, and the promised succour of your friends, who have already given you an earnest of what they can, and what they will perform. Rest assured, whatever the tools of government may assert of the disgust the French have conceived at your inactivity, they will very soon send the promised force of at least ten thousand troops, with an ample supply of military stores. If they find your men unprepared, you will have no excuse; and instead of forming an independent republic, must submit to remain in the abject miserable condition of a tributary province.

Arm, therefore, but without any violence, which may afford a pretence for reviving the sanguinary system of terror; and hide your arms with additional care, for new bills are framing to take them from you, and rigorous searches will speedily take place. Hold no meetings, but transmit, singly and briefly to your tried friends, those instructions which may soon issue for vigorous and active measures. Abstain from spirits, and every exciseable article that contributes to recruit the exhausted revenues of a bankrupt government, supported only by your vices, which enables them to maintain their hordes of regimental assassins. Intoxication has not only laid open your hearts to informers, but stimulated you headlong into danger, and disabled you equally to fight or fly. Take warning from the decisive battles which (to the disgrace of Ireland) you have lost by that alone, and reserve whatever you can save by future sobriety, to purchase ammunition for the approaching deliverance of your country.

Those whom you have chosen still watch over your interests, and will not rashly hazard your safety. When a proper occasion offers, their summons will issue in the customary official channel, and it will not be their fault if it does not at once extend to every part of Ireland. And then shall your oppressors see how much sooner the trained bands of corruption are exhausted, than a population of above four millions, roused by every provocation, and resolved on liberty or death; and then shall those who now charge you with barbarity, supplicate and receive that mercy which themselves denied.

Hearken no longer to those insolent implacable upstarts, who boast of having wantonly made war upon a long suffering people, and goaded you into rebellion, by burning, rape, robbery, murder, torture, and every other diabolical expedient inquisitorial cruelty could devise, and who, in the same breath, impudently insult you with the ostentatious parade of mercy; when they are wearied, not satiated, with slaughter and proscription.

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APPENDIX (No. 26.)

Copy of a printed CARD to the Memory of O'COIGLY.

Sacred
To the Memory of
JOHN JAMES COIGLY.
His independent Virtue! His benevolent Spirit!
His sympathizing Mind! His affectionate Heart!
And his indefatigable Exertions to promote
Moral Rectitude,
Pure Religion,
Political Emancipation,
all combined to make him dreaded by Apostates; by whom
he was, on
Thursday, June 7th, 1798, Sacrificed
a willing Victim at the Shrine of
Selfish Bigotry,
and
Legal Forms.
The Tears of the Virtuous! The Sighs of the Oppressed!
The Regret of the Patriot! The Vengeance of his Country!
And the grateful Applause of Posterity, will bear
Ample Testimony
of his
Matchless Wrongs,
and his
Unrivalled Worth.

APPENDIX (No. 27.)

Translation of INSTRUCTIONS for the March and Operations of General Humbert.

IT would perhaps be imprudent for you to remain long in Cornwall. It would be more adviseable that you should first establish yourself in Devonshire, particularly in that part which lies between the two rivers, the *Ex* and the *Tamer*. This situation, on account of the passes and mountains, will afford you an easy and safe retreat from the pursuit of the enemy, as well as a more extensive sphere for your operations. With a little enterprize and skill you might easily succeed in cutting off the communication be-

tween Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Portsmouth. It would not, however, be adviseable for you to approach too near to those places, on account of the numerous garrisons which they contain, unless, indeed, you had information of any commotion having taken place, which you should labour to promote.

It is therefore of importance, that immediately on your debarkation, you should direct your march towards "*Dedmana* and *Newport*." Above the latter, and without passing through it, you will cross the Tamer, a river which separates Cornwall from Devonshire, beyond which it will be your object to take up a position.

Your march should be conducted with briskness and celerity. You should never keep the high road, but, on the contrary, proceed through the bye-ways and narrow tracks, and especially those that are most remote from the great road. Before you enter a city or town, you should enquire whether it contains any, and what number of troops, whether there is any river in it, and what number of bridges, and whether it has any fortifications; you must then take your measures accordingly. You should frequently change your guides, in order to conceal from the enemy the knowledge of your marches, and never take a fresh guide in the presence of the one whom you dismiss; you should make frequent counter marches; always tell your guides that you have quitted a different road from that which you intend to pursue, and enquire the road to those towns and villages which you mean to leave behind you, or to which at least you do not intend to go.

The better to create surprize and consternation, you must now and then take possession of some little town or harbour, and lay it under contribution. You perceive by this, that all places of any note will apply to Government for troops, which will be in want of them, and will be compelled to divide those which it can spare; this will enable you to destroy a great many of them, by engaging separately with the different detachments sent against you.

It is only by means of moveable columns that you can be opposed with success; it will not, however, be difficult for you to destroy their effect.

If they should be weak, you may easily overpower them; if they should be strong, you may disperse yourselves, and commit hostilities in different quarters. This will alarm the towns, and they will immediately require the protection of those troops which compose the columns, in order to serve as garrisons against your attacks. You will thus remain masters of the country, and starve both the inhabitants and the troops who are in the towns.

I doubt whether the English understand the use and advantages of moveable columns ; but even if they do, you may render them of no avail, since the Government has not a sufficient number of troops to cover every point at once.

The soldiers should not carry any thing besides their arms, ammunition, and bread ; they will every where find linen, shoes, and other articles of dress.

The inhabitants must supply their wants, and gentlemen's seats will serve you for magazines.

In case the country should be too much ravaged to subsist you any longer, or in case the number of troops sent against you should compel you to quit the spot where you have taken position, you must quit with expedition, make forced marches by night, and rest during the day in the woods and mountains. If you are under the necessity of stopping at any place to procure provisions, make choice of a good post, from whence you must send your detachments into the neighbouring villages. Your cavalry, for you must on your first establishment create a force of that description, will be most proper for this service, and may and ought to change horses as often as necessity shall require.

As you will proceed by hasty marches, the enemy's troops will not be able to come up with you on account of the difficulty of procuring provisions ; but even if you should be obliged to fight, you must remember that you are Frenchmen, and strike a great blow.

Bear in mind, at the same time, that necessity only should induce you to risk the fate of an engagement ; but then you must make a desperate attempt. If you must force your way through the enemy you have to attack, let it be done in the night.

About eleven or twelve o'clock at night send three or four patrols, consisting of four or six men, to set fire to some houses in your rear, and in different quarters. The enemy, imagining that you are flying, will, perhaps, endeavour to pursue you, and then you may either prepare an ambuscade, elude them altogether, or fall upon the rear of one of their columns, which you may easily overpower in the dark, and in the confusion into which troops unexpectedly attacked are thrown.

If the enemy should send assistance to the persons whose houses have been set on fire, the thing is the same, and you have the choice of either fighting or eluding them, which, however, is not of so

much advantage as the first alternative. If the enemy should remain under arms, and send patroles to reconnoitre, you must surround them, and put them to the bayonet, without firing a shot. In three or four hours afterwards you should depart in column, and proceed, "*au pas de Charge*," against one of the wings, which you should drive in, and, without attempting any thing else, pursue your march, and make two or three counter marches in the course of the day.

The night will also afford you a fit opportunity to surprize and put to the sword any post that may be opposed to you. In the day time, and in an open situation, you must not hesitate to attack two thousand men, and in the night from four to five thousand, with a force of twelve hundred. From a post that is not intrenched, you ought to dislodge eight hundred men; but if it should be intrenched, and defended by cannon, you must take care to avoid it.

In order to pass a river, the bridges of which are guarded, you must, if you cannot procure boats, endeavour to ascend to its source, to find a ford, or the causeway of a water mill. If you are very much pushed, you must stretch a strong rope across from one side of the river to the other, and make such of the troops as cannot swim take hold of it and pass over. In such cases their muskets must be carried in the slings, with the butt end upwards, in order that the lock may, if possible, be kept dry. Trees long enough to reach from one bank to the other are preferable to a rope. In that case you must cut down a good many, and throw them across at different places. If the river, though fordable, should be rapid, and the soldiers should be up to their necks in water, you must make the good swimmers go first, and then order a whole rank to pass at once, each soldier holding fast with his left hand by the coat of the man who is before him, and carrying his musket in his right. In this manner the soldier who reaches the opposite bank, pulls along his comrade and helps him out of the water, and so on successively. The horses may thus pass also, but it is not much to be trusted to.

Cornwall and Devonshire form a peninsula, in which it would be desirable that you should be able to maintain yourselves, and this you might accomplish with a little skill. If, however, you should be compelled by urgent motives, and after having made every effort in your power, to quit this district, it would then be expedient for you to make an irruption into the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, in order to strike terror into the heart of England, and

even into London itself. In this last county you will pass the Severn, in order to reach the principality of Wales, a mountainous and woody country, where you would find a secure retreat, and where you would be better enabled to receive succour through Ireland. There is another manner in which you might pass the Severn or the Bristol canal, that is, by taking possession of Bristol or Berkeley, and crossing the canal in the boats which you would meet with on the spot.

By means of a sum of money advanced in England, and the promise of a farther reward in France, you might induce plenty of fishermen to convey thither an officer intrusted with your dispatches. It would be difficult for you to correspond through any other medium.

APPENDIX (No. 28.)

Translation of INSTRUCTIONS to Brigadier General HUMBERT, commanding the Secret Expedition entrusted to the Legion "*des Francs*."

AS soon as the formation of the legion and the weather will permit, General Humbert, who will have made the necessary arrangements respecting the transports with Vice-Admiral Cornie, is to conduct his troops to St. Malo, there to cause them to be embarked, and immediately to set sail for the county of Cornwall, in the kingdom of England.

The garrison which, in pursuance of my orders, General Humbert is to take away from Chateaufort, is to be replaced by General Virges; and General Humbert, on the eve of his departure, is to apprise General Virges thereof.

The expedition must, if possible, depart, in the night time; and during the passage the ships are to make all the sail possible.

General Humbert is to take care that the most perfect order be preserved on board.

The troops are to receive their usual allowances; but when they are ready to disembark, they are to be furnished with four days provisions, and a double ration of brandy is to be allowed them; this

they are to drink immediately, in order to refresh themselves after the fatigues of the voyage.

The disembarkation must be effected with all possible expedition. The powder and ammunition must be carried by the soldiers, until such time as they shall have advanced far enough into the country to procure *bât* horses, which are then to be employed in that service.

The ammunition must not, on any occasion whatever, be left behind; and fresh supplies of it must be procured whenever an opportunity occurs.

During the two first days march the legion must remain undivided; and care must be taken to prevent any of the men from straggling.

General Humbert will of course feel the propriety of speedily advancing to a woody and mountainous situation before he attempts any act of hostility. He must take care to avoid swampy ground, not only because it is unwholesome, but because he might expose himself to the danger of being surrounded by troops, who would certainly not fail to make use of the advantages which such situations always afford.

The expedition of General Humbert has three principal objects in view:

The first is, to put the country into a state of insurrection:

The second is, to embarrass the commerce of our rivals:

The third is, to prepare and facilitate the means of making a descent, by giving the greatest perplexity to the English Government.

The class of people the most easily to be moved to insurrection, as in all countries, is the poorest class. This may be effected by distributing money or drink among them; by ascribing to the Government the public wretchedness; by instigating them, and facilitating their means to revolt, to pillage the public granaries, and to plunder the property of the rich, whom they always regard with an eye of envy.

It is, however, necessary to observe, that how regardless soever the English people may be of morality, they are attached to their laws, and respect their Magistrates, even during the insurrections which have sometimes taken place; it will therefore be expedient to spare the property belonging to, or in anywise connected with the civil and municipal Magistracy. It will also be adviseable to pursue

the same line of policy with respect to the country landholders and merchants. The expences must then be borne by the great, the Lords, (those who belong to the Opposition party are to be spared, whenever they are known) the Ministers, the Naval and Military Officers, especially those of the Militia. The houses, the granaries, the cattle, the forests, and every thing belonging to any of these, must be distributed among the people, or pillaged by them. These calamities, which those of the Republic compel us to inflict, and to which a ferocious nation constrains us to expose it, will induce many of the labouring people and the rabble of the country to espouse our cause ; but they must on no account be incorporated with our own troops ; they must be formed into new corps, and placed under the command of French officers belonging to the legion, in order that no native of the country may become acquainted with the state of our force. These should also be kept separate, and as much in ignorance in this respect as circumstances will permit. It is principally by means of the new companies that the insurrection will be fomented.

With respect to the embarrassing of commerce, this may be best effected by breaking down bridges, dikes, and causeways, (which is, indeed, necessary for the purpose of self-preservation) ; by plundering convoys of provisions, and private and public carriages ; by cutting off the supplies destined for towns ; by burning merchant vessels, boats, &c. ; by setting fire to dock-yards, rope-works, and the sail-cloth manufactories. It is also to be observed, that in consequence of these operations a number of workmen will be deprived of employment, and will attach themselves to the party which supplies them with the means of subsistence ; a mode of livelihood so much the more captivating, as the individual himself contributes nothing towards it.

The object of the descent may be facilitated by disarming the militia ; by burning the public arsenals and harbours ; by intercepting messengers in the service of Government ; as well as by the declension of the troops, through desertion and in subordination ; and by the terror which the operations of the legion, and the progress of the insurrection, will inspire into the minds of those who might be inclined to defend the country.

The most favourable part of the country is, that in which forges and manufactories are to be found.

Provisions must be taken wherever they can be found ; and if any

town or village refuse *immediately* to afford a necessary supply of provisions, it must be given up to pillage. The better to strike terror into the country, the legion should be dispersed into different columns, and assemble again at a general rendezvous. This operation should be repeated every four, six, or eight days. The inhabitants of the country must be employed as guides; whoever shall refuse to act in that capacity must be punished on the spot. Magistrates should always be preferred for that service, or some of their relations, in order that they may be deterred from punishing those unfortunate persons who may be compelled by force to march.

Spies must be punished with death.

The villages near to any place where the legion, or any column belonging to it, shall have taken refuge, which do not send intelligence or ring their bells on the approach of troops destined to act against the legion, shall be burnt. In order to avoid the destruction of the troops under his command, General Humbert must decline coming to an engagement with regular forces, and must only attack small detachments, and cantonments, and weak posts. He must invite deserters from the enemy, and likewise prisoners, to enlist into the new corps. If they should refuse, their hair and their eye-brows must be cut off; and if they should happen to be retaken, they are to be shot.

General Humbert will not fail to bear in mind, that there are in England a great number of Frenchmen who will hasten to join him. These are the prisoners of war, both soldiers and sailors, the soldiers belonging to the emigrant regiments, and a number of others whose wretchedness, and a thirst of vengeance, would allure to his standard.

He is at liberty to admit Frenchmen into the legion; but he must employ the utmost vigilance to prevent those new comers from entering into cabals. Those who would be most inclined to these practices are the Nobles and the Priests, whose ambition is equal to their cowardice.

Any attempt to excite mutiny must be severely punished.

The districts, the militia of which shall have attempted to oppose the march of the legion, must also be punished with severity; and, as far as it may be practicable, such militia must be disarmed, and

their arms put into the hands of the new insurgents. The greatest care must be employed to guard the ammunition.

General Humbert, who will be assisted by the knowledge and talents of his principal officers, will not omit to avail himself of every occurrence that may enable him to increase the strength and confidence of his party; an object so much to be wished for. He must spare and protect the poor and the aged, the widow and the orphan, and throw the burden of the war on the shoulders of the rich, who are the authors of our calamities.

The militia and any other troops that may join us shall be admitted to the same indulgence, Irish sailors also, who shall join us, shall be treated in the same manner; and they shall be paid, according to a full and fair valuation of them, for such ships or vessels as they shall bring into the ports in your possession, or even into the ports of France. But if, contrary to all probability, and in spite of the justice of your cause, any Irishman should be found so degenerate, so insensible to the glory and to the safety of his country, as to sacrifice them to his own selfish views, and to be induced to take part against us, I declare, that, whenever any of them shall fall into our hands, they shall be treated, not as prisoners of war, like other English troops, but as rebels and traitors to their country, and all their effects shall be confiscated.

We shall call upon the public and legal authorities, likewise to confiscate the property of runaways or emigrants, as well as that of persons who, under an insidious neutrality, shall remain passive spectators of the dangers of their country, and reserve to themselves the opportunity of declaring their sentiments, without danger, in favour of the victorious party; and of all kinds of baseness this being the most contemptible, it shall involve not only confiscation of the property, but the banishment of him who shall be guilty of it.

Until circumstances shall permit the provisional representatives to assemble for the purpose of establishing a regular national Administration, I invite all enlightened Patriots to communicate to me their local knowledge, and the means by which the organization of the revolutionary authorities may be accelerated.

PEOPLE of IRELAND.

I have just imparted to you the intentions of the French nation. I have also expressed to you my private sentiments, with the frank

ness of a soldier, who feels his glory connected with the success of our common enterprize. Bear in mind that all Europe, the eyes of which are now upon you, will judge whether you deserve that your chains should be broken. Nothing is more easy, if you engage in it with determined courage. Rise at once in a mass at every point of your island. My brave brethren in arms and myself, will be the centre for you to rally round. A force so considerable insures to you, without striking a blow, a speedy and complete victory; and in the same manner as the vivifying rays of the Sun purify the earth from pestilential vapours, and destroy the insects which they nourished, so from the ardour of your patriotism shall issue that splendour which will banish tyranny, and annihilate its Satellites amidst the unanimous shouts of the Irish and the French, exclaiming Liberty and Equality for ever!

PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS for IRELAND.

After having discussed the subject with those Deputies of the Central Committee of Insurrection of Ireland, who have been recommended to him by the Executive Directory of France, the Commander in Chief of the French Army, desirous to shew in a manner still more particular the intentions of his Government with regard to the Irish People, considers it his duty, as well in order to facilitate the Revolution, as to maintain order during the political crisis which must necessarily arise from the overthrow of despotism, to publish the following articles, inviting at the same time all good citizens to comply therewith, until such time as the representatives of the people shall assemble.

Art. 1st. We, the faithful organ of the Executive Directory of France, recognize and proclaim in the face of Heaven the Liberty and Independence of the People of Ireland. We swear to maintain them with our whole power, and to make no peace with the oppressors of Ireland but in concert with the new Government which she shall adopt.

Art. 2d. We invite the Members of the Central Committee of Insurrection, immediately to assemble in order to execute the functions of the Provisional Government; we prohibit the agents of the English Government to continue to exercise their duties; and we prohibit likewise every individual, citizen or soldier, to obey their orders.

Art. 3d. On the receipt of this the "*Notables*" (the principal inhabitants) will take care to assemble in order to appoint three Commissioners, who, meeting at the principal town of the district, shall compose the Provisional Administration, and in quality of Administrators shall conduct the business of the Committee. They will likewise be required to execute the orders which may be transmitted to them by the Central Committee, to which is entrusted the duty of convoking the Irish National Assembly, the office of which will be to make future laws and regulations.

Art. 4th. The notables of every country will likewise take care to appoint a military officer, and direct the Provisional Administration to organize an armed force ready to march to the defence of the country.

Art. 5th. This armed force shall consist of cavalry, infantry, and artillery; that is to say, that a class of men shall be formed, in which every individual shall be at liberty to enter into any one of those services, according to his own inclinations, and his own physical and pecuniary means. When the formation is completed, the military commander shall, without delay, conduct his troops either to join the French army, or to some point fixed upon by the Central Committee. When they reach the place of their destination, they shall there be completely equipped.

Art. 6th. The sums of money deposited in the public treasuries, the magazines, the stores, articles of commerce and merchandize, belonging to the English Government, to its agents or partizans, are and shall remain confiscated for the use of the Irish Government, and accordingly they shall be seized by the Administrators of the Committee, and placed in the hands of the Paymaster of the Army, who shall be responsible for the monies transmitted to him, and shall account for them to the new Government.

Art. 7th. The ships and vessels belonging to the King and his pretended subjects, shall likewise be confiscated for the benefit of the Irish Government. They must be expressly prohibited to quit the Ports of Ireland under any pretence whatever. In the name of the Central Committee, the exportation of grain, provisions, or merchandize belonging to Irishmen, must also be prohibited.

The notables and Administrators of the Maritime Committees shall be personally responsible for the execution of this article, unless they shall shew that any exportation that shall have taken place was effected by means of superior force.

Art. 8th. The supplies furnished for the use of the French army shall immediately be paid for, or at least with as little delay as possible. In the last case the Commissary General shall keep an exact account of the supplies so furnished, and deliver to the Proprietor an acknowledgement, specifying the price of the objects delivered, in order that in proper time the sums due may be punctually paid.

Art. 9th. The agents or friends of the English Government, who shall take arms against the Defenders of Liberty, shall impede the progress of the Revolution, or shall oppose the circulation or the execution of orders issued by the Central Committee, and particularly the present, shall be considered as traitors to their country, and punished accordingly.

Art. 10th. Such enemies of the Revolution as are pointed out in the preceding article, who shall be desirous to go to England, shall be at liberty so to do, upon making a declaration to the Central Administration of their district, which must permit them only to carry away such things as are absolutely necessary, leaving it always to the National Assembly to decide on the subject of the property belonging to emigrants.

PROCLAMATION to the ARMY of IRELAND.

Brave Friends,

THE Frenchmen whom you see in your country do not come to subjugate you, and to conquer Ireland. Armed in the cause of the equality of man, and the liberty of nations, they come to make you free; they come to give you their assistance in breaking the yoke of the infamous English Government; they come to assist you to re-conquer the property of your ancestors, of which you have been despoiled by odious and base usurpers. Far be from you the thought of opposing us in Battle! Be Irishmen! Be free! Come and join our Ranks! We will shew you the path of honour. In a word, you will learn how men love and serve their country. Come, and speedily our common enemy will be annihilated.

We know that you have long sighed for our arrival. A thousand times have you shewn yourselves free by your heroism, and by your virtues. Let us instantly unite, and let your tyrants disappear. You ought to recognize no masters but the laws, which, very soon, you will receive from your faithful representatives.

In order to remove doubts, and to make known the intentions of the Central Committee of Ireland, with the members of which I have conferred, I think it my duty to publish the following regulations :

Art. 1st. The soldiers who shall abandon the standard of George for the purpose of joining the French army, or the revolutionary army of Ireland, shall be admitted to share in the distribution of landed property which shall take place after the Revolution, and shall be immediately incorporated with the regiments raised for the defence of Liberty.

The officers and non-commissioned officers, who shall embrace the common cause, shall continue to enjoy the same rank which they now hold.

Art. 2d. The sailors who shall abandon the service of England, shall likewise be admitted to share in the distribution of land, and to enter into the public service. They shall moreover be allowed the price of such English vessels as they shall bring into the ports of Ireland.

Art. 3d. Irish officers and soldiers fighting against the Defenders of Liberty, and taken with arms in their hands, shall be considered as traitors to the country, and punished accordingly.

To the ARMY destined to effect the REVOLUTION of IRELAND.

Republicans,

PROUD of having led you to victory on various occasions, I have now obtained from Government permission to conduct you to new success. To command you is to be sure of triumph.

Anxious to restore to liberty a people worthy of it, and ripe for a Revolution, the Directory sends us to Ireland for the purpose of there facilitating the Revolution which excellent republicans have just undertaken there. It will be glorious for us, who have vanquished the satellites of Kings, armed against the Republic, to break the chains of a nation of friends, and to assist them to recover their rights, usurped by the odious English Government. You will never forget, brave and faithful companions, that the people whom we are now going to visit are the friends of our country ; that we ought to treat them as such, and not as a conquered nation. When you arrive in Ireland you will meet with hospitality, with fraternity.

Soon will thousands of its inhabitants come to swell our ranks. Let us be careful then never to treat any of them as enemies. As well as us they have to avenge themselves on the perfidious English. The latter are the people on whom we have to inflict the most signal vengeance. Be assured that the Irish sigh no less ardently than we for the moment, when, in concert with us, they shall proceed to London to remind Pitt and his friends of the attempts which they have made against our liberty.

By friendship, by duty, for the honour of the French name, you are bound to respect persons and property in the country to which we are going. If by unremitted efforts I can provide for your wants, be assured that, anxious to preserve the reputation of the army which I have the honour to command, I will severely punish all those who shall transgress the duties which they owe their country. Laurels and glory shall be the reward of the Republican soldier; death shall be the punishment of robbery and pillage. You know me well enough to believe, that I will not now forfeit my word. It was my duty to give you warning. Be you careful to bear it in mind.

PROCLAMATION to the IRISH NATION.

People of Ireland,

AT various periods you have manifested your horror of that slavery to which the ambition of England has reduced you; and notwithstanding your natural bravery, your efforts to shake off the yoke have been unsuccessful, and defeated by the arts and perfidy of the English Minister, who, employing all the means of corruption, has always spread division among your leaders, and succeeded, by their treachery and disunion, in preserving the chains by which you are fettered.

At present, when the glorious and ever memorable Revolution of France has rekindled the sacred flame of the love of liberty, which tyranny had in vain endeavoured to extinguish in your hearts, your Secret Central Revolutionary Committee justly thought itself bound to profit by the moment, when the arms of France, every where triumphant, enabled her to lend assistance to Ireland, in order to recover her ancient independence. In the hope of obtaining it, the Committee applied to the Executive Power of the French Republic, gave the most positive assurances of the disposition which an

immense majority of the Irish felt again to become a free people. It at the same time communicated the measures long since taken in silence, and for the success of which nothing was wanting but the arrival of a French army, with arms and warlike stores; and assurances that, immediately upon that event, all the patriots able to serve would flock to the French standard, and soon expel the English and their partizans from the Irish territories.

This affecting representation of your situation, and of your wishes, made by your Secret Committee; its petition for assistance, presented in the name of the whole nation, having excited in the minds of all French Republicans those sentiments of generosity and kindness, which they delight to bestow upon nations which are oppressed; the Executive Power resolved to afford you its aid, in a manner calculated to fulfil your most sanguine hopes. For this purpose I have landed upon your shores at the head of an army of Republicans, accustomed to victory under their Commander. We present ourselves as sincere and zealous friends of all those who shall espouse the cause of Liberty; and we are only ambitious of the glory of breaking your chains, and punishing your tyrants.

It is no longer the struggle between the Houses of *Hanover* and *Stuart*; the one to continue, the other to become again a despot. Free men fight only to maintain equality of rights, and detest even the very name of master. Convinced that you share with us these noble sentiments, we offer you our hands and our hearts for the re-establishment of your national dignity, by the free choice you shall make of a form of Government fitted to secure the duration of your independence, uncontrolled liberty to declare your opinion with respect to men and measures. We will guide your representatives in their labours to accomplish your views; the publicity which you will give to their deliberations will prevent error; the order and tranquillity which I will assist you to maintain, will guard you against the violence of enthusiasm, sometimes more dangerous than the attempts of disaffection.

The example of other nations, the experience obtained by their various attempts, every thing promises you a happiness which has been dearly purchased by your friends, and which they have the generosity to offer you, on the single condition that you will declare yourselves with the firmness suitable to, and worthy of, a nation consisting of four millions of people.

There is not certainly a single Irishman of information, who is

not aware of the advantages to be derived from his geographical situation, from the population of his country, and the fertility of its soil ; from the activity, strength, and courage of its inhabitants, and from the numbers, the excellence, and the happy situation of its harbours.

His indignation must then be excited to the highest pitch, when he contemplates the dreadful wretchedness of the very great majority of his countrymen, and reflects that nature has lavished her benefits on him in vain, if he cannot control the mischiefs of the systematic tyranny of the English Government, seated in the heart of cruel Albion. It is indeed in consequence of this usurping spirit, that England has successively been able to paralyze all the physical and moral resources of Ireland.

The policy of England has constantly nurtured the seeds of animosity and distrust between the different religious sects, whose fanaticism, excited and directed by the Court of London, prevented the force of Ireland from rallying against the common enemy.

From this disunion arose the facility of treating the Irish like slaves, by excluding them from all employments, civil, military, and ecclesiastic.

By this arrangement alone the nation soon becomes the prey of a handful of *Protestant* strangers ; creatures devoted to the Machiavelism and to the rapine of the English Government.

These satellites of despotism, by means of plunder and injustice exercised upon your ancestors and yourselves, have become almost the only possessors of the landed property of your country, the rent of which being carried to England, consigns you to the most wretched indigence ; and from a dread lest your industrious activity should enable you to rise above this oppression, the act of navigation was employed to complete the pressure, and to deprive you of every means of forming a navy.

The absolute nullity of national representation in your Parliament, allows you no hope of a redress of your grievances. The prohibitions to acquire a property in land, and to grant leases of long duration (prohibitions which have but recently undergone some slight modifications) have compelled the greatest part of the farmers to become the day labourers and servants of the usurpers of their ancestors' estates. By the severity of the laws, by the want of the means, you are deprived of the power of educating your children. In a word, barbarity has been carried to such a length,

that you are even prohibited to use the language of your forefathers.

To this sketch of the picture of your wretchedness, and the spectacle which presents itself to passengers in the streets of London, where crowds of Irishmen, descended from the most antient families of a formerly flourishing country, are compelled day and night to earn a subsistence by the meanest occupations, and are incessantly overwhelmed by the insolent populace of that inhospitable land with humiliations and reproaches.

Compare now with these melancholy truths the certain means which I bring you (if you have courage for the attempt) of obtaining an independent form of Government, calculated to promote your highest interests, without any limits to its authority but impossibility itself, or the wish of the people, restored to their sovereignty. A fraternal toleration of all religions, which, laying aside those animosities which result from religious opinions, will preserve you from the perfidious machinations of England, of which you, Presbyterians and Catholics, have been alternately the sport. Consider in this new order of things, how much your union for your common happiness will supply means of every kind to enable you to resist those who should dare attempt to disturb your tranquillity. Endeavour to ascertain the resources which you may derive from a population abounding in men of genius and courage; from a soil fertile in all the necessaries of life; from an active and well directed industry; from the certain and various conveniences you possess for foreign commerce. What an increase of strength will you derive from the many inhabitants which your liberty and your advantages will not only retain in your land, but will recall from the United States of America, to which they had retired through misery and oppression.

The abolition of all privileges and distinctions, by affording to every individual the hope of attaining, by his talents and his virtues, the principal dignities of the State, will diffuse through every profession that salutary thirst of glory which multiplies great men. Your national representation will then consist of persons of the first merit. In a word, a Constitution freely chosen, which you will have, adapted in every respect to what your situation requires, will completely consolidate for ever your political existence, while it establishes your independence. Such and many more, O People of Ireland, are the advantages of the Liberty and Equality which

the generosity of French Republicans offers you by me, and which the zeal and intrepidity of my companions in arms will insure to you.

The power with which I am invested, authorising me to make and issue such regulations as shall appear most useful for the success of this noble undertaking, I am going, by the first instance in which I exercise it, to destroy all possibility of uneasiness, which ill-disposed persons would endeavour to inspire into minds apprehensive of the conduct which the brave army I have the honour to command might pursue towards the inhabitants during the period they shall remain in the country.

I therefore solemnly declare, that every violation of liberty of person and property, all disrespect for the religion and authority legally constituted by the good people of Ireland, shall be punished with death, within four-and-twenty hours after the arrest of the offenders, whatever may be their quality or condition; and that order and discipline shall be enforced under the severest penalties.

Banish therefore, as you ought, all uneasiness respecting what might appear to you a subject of disquietude. I flatter myself that I shall meet with, on your parts, all the zeal and assistance which my operations will require. I am confident that all sincere friends of the happiness of Ireland, who may be able to bear arms for the defence of the cause, will flock to the Republican standard, where they shall immediately be furnished with arms, and that they will speedily co-operate with my exertions to compel the common enemy from your territory. Upon the celerity of this junction will essentially depend the effusion of blood, which you will on all occasions find me desirous to spare.

I will take care that exact registers shall be kept of the christian and surnames of persons, as well of the time of their arrival, with memoranda of the degree of zeal which they shall have displayed, in order that in the distribution of the property which shall be confiscated from the enemy, the strictest justice may regulate its partition, according to the merit of each individual.

